The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

TRANSLATED BY JANE DAMMEN McAULIFFE

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The initial years (126-145) of al-Manṣūr's reign presented several significant challenges to nascent 'Abbāsid hegemony, and the resulting confrontations constitute the central focus of this section of Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh.* After Abū Ja'far succeeded his brother Abū al-'Abbas as caliph, the second of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, he moved against his recalcitrant uncle, 'Abdallah b. 'Alī, and against the potential threat that he perceived in the person of the commander in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim. Eliminating the latter and containing the former freed the caliph to address a series of other onslaughts and insurrections.

Starting with the year 144, however, Ṭabarī turned to this volume's principal preoccupation, to which half of the book is devoted. Judging by the attention given to it, he clearly perceived the Ḥasanid rebellions of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (the Pure Soul) and of his brother Ibrāhīm to be the most substantial attack on 'Abbāsid authority to arise in the first years of that dynasty. Ṭabarī's description of the prolonged search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm and of the caliphal venegeance visited upon their father and family provides an extended prelude to the vivid battle and death scenes in Medina and Bākhamrā. Yet, elaboration of these events does not eclipse mention of all other 'Abbāsid activity. To bridge the account of Muḥammad's defeat and that of Ibrāhīm's uprising, Ṭabarī inserted a narrative interlude depicting the site selection and preliminary construction of al-Manṣūr's most celebrated achievement, the City of Peace, Baghdad.

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Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

THE EARLY YEARS OF AL-MANṢŪR

A.D. 753–763/A.H. 136–145

The History of al-Ṭabarī

Center for Iranian Studies

Columbia University

SUNY

SERIES IN NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

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The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

translated and annotated
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For my children

Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the orginal Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

Contents

Abbreviations

Addenda et Emendanda: List of textual additions and corrections included in the Leiden introductory volume of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*

AO: *Acta Orientalia*

BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

DMA: *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Joseph R. Strayer. 13 vols. New York, 1982

EI^1: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. M. T. Houtsma et al. 8 vols. and supplement. Leiden, 1913–36, reprint 1987

EI^2: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. Leiden, 1960–.

EHR: *English Historical Review*

EJ: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 16 vols. Jerusalem, 1972.

ER: *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. M. Eliade. 15 vols. and index. New York, 1987.

Fragmenta historicorum: *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq fī akhbār al-ḥaqāʾiq*

GAL: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.* 2 vols. 2nd ed. Leiden, 1943–49. *Supplementbände*. 3 vols. Leiden, 1937–42.

GAS: Fuat Sezgin. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967–.

Glossarium: Glossary included in the Leiden introductory volume of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*

IC: *Islamic Culture*

IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

IQ: *Islamic Quarterly*

IS: *Islamic Studies*

JA: *Journal asiatique*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
MW: *The Muslim World*
REI: *Revue des études islamiques*
RH: *Revue historique*
SI: *Studia Islamica*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Translator's Foreword

The caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr began and ended far from the city whose foundation was his most celebrated achievement. It was not in Baghdad that he commenced his caliphate but in Mecca. Less than five years after the ʿAbbāsids had assumed power, that power passed from one brother to another. The first caliph of the dynasty, ʿAbū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, died in 136/754 during the month of the pilgrimage, and Ṭabarī introduces this volume of his *Taʾrīkh* with an announcement of the oath of allegiance that was then rendered in absentia to the dead caliph's brother. At the time of al-Saffāḥ's death the new caliph was leading the Pilgrimage exercises in the Ḥijāz, where he received news of the transfer of power from his nephew, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Twenty-one years later, in 158/775, al-Manṣūr was once again on the road to Mecca during this same month of the Pilgrimage, which had also been the month of his birth, when he became unexpectedly ill and died.

The initial years of al-Manṣūr's reign presented several significant challenges to nascent ʿAbbāsid hegemony. These confrontations constitute the central focus of Ṭabarī's attention in this volume. Before he concludes his presentation of the transition year 136/754, Ṭabarī relates an exchange that took place between the new caliph and Abū Muslim, a powerful Khurāsānī leader who had accompanied him on the Pilgrimage. In this prescient conversation converge the three principal preoccupations that Abū Jaʿfar was forced to address in the first decade of his caliph-

ate: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Muslim himself, and the ʿAlid rebels Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Speaking to Abū Muslim, the caliph first expresses uneasiness about his uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, and then alludes to his concern about those groups whose loyalties have coalesced around the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, and his descendants.

Ṭabarī's record of the year 137 describes the caliph's swift response to this uncle's refusal to acknowledge his sovereignty. He successfully sends Abū Muslim against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī but then quickly comes to fear the increasing independence and power of the Khurāsānī warrior himself. The accounts of Abū Muslim's murder in the very presence of al-Manṣūr provide a powerful impression of the caliph's relentless resolution. That impression receives strong reinforcement in those scenes from the year 145 when the severed heads of the ʿAlid pretenders, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, are brought before him.

The major events related in this volume commence, then, with al-Manṣūr's moves in 137 against his recalcitrant uncle and against the potential threat that he perceived in the person of Abū Muslim. They conclude with the defeat and death of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in 145. The years immediately following 137 receive relatively brief treatment from Ṭabarī. He mentions the destruction and reconstruction of Malaṭyah, an important Byzantine border town, as well as a Khārijī rebellion and various uprisings consequent upon the death of Abū Muslim. In but a single sentence under the year 139 Ṭabarī notes that the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah went to Spain, where his descendants continue to rule, a sentence that represents virtually his only reference to events beyond the central Islamic lands.

For the year 141 Ṭabarī breaks this pattern of somewhat perfunctory reportage. Several episodes draw his attention, chief among them being the uprising of the Rāwandiyyah in al-Hāshimiyyah, the only engagement, in a volume that describes several decisive battles, in which the caliph actively participated. Ṭabarī presents al-Manṣūr as a bold and courageous commander, willing to risk his life to rally his forces and ready to lavish praise and recompense on the rehabilitated Umayyad soldier Maʿn b. Zāʾidah. Having experienced danger, however, al-Manṣūr moved promptly to forestall the recurrence of such strategic vulnerabil-

ity. The encounter with the Rāwandiyyah is later reckoned an important reason for the building of Baghdad and the caliph subsequently judged his self-exposure in that battle to be one of the three major mistakes from the likely consequences of which he had been divinely protected.

Starting with the year 144 Ṭabarī concentrates on this volume's central preoccupation. Half the pages in this text develop a description of what he clearly perceived to be the most substantial challenge to ʿAbbāsid authority faced in the first years of that dynasty, the Ḥasanid rebellions of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother Ibrāhīm. Virtually all the action occurs within a limited geographical area, closely contained along the corridor running between the two holy sites in the Ḥijāz and the metropolitan areas of southern Iraq, especially al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. The time-line charted in this chapter on the year 144 telescopes the actual sequence of events. Ṭabarī, in fact, first mentions the Ḥasanid problem in his record of the year 139, with the elliptical remark that summer campaigns against the Byzantines were suspended from that time until 146 "because Abū Jaʿfar was occupied with matters involving the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan." Although that single remark receives no elaboration until the full issue is introduced in the section on year 144, the events recorded therein cover a span of some years.

During those years, then, the caliph was confronted with a situation of unresolved resistance to his hegemony. His initial inclination to rely on the loyalty and enthusiasm of his governor in Medina proved mistaken. Throughout this period, several men held that post. When it was clearly established that the first, Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, had failed to press the search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm because his sympathies lay more with them than with the caliph, the latter had him arrested and appointed Muḥammad b. Khālid in his stead. As this one also proved reluctant to move with alacrity, Abū Jaʿfar replaced him with Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, whose complete dependence on the patronage of al-Manṣūr assured his antipathy to the Ḥasanids.

Once installed in office, Riyāḥ moved rapidly to secure the caliphal kudos that capture of Muḥammad would ensure. Riyāḥ's forces searched relentlessly and came near to discovering Muḥammad on several occasions. One poignant episode recounts

the death of Muḥammad's infant son, who plunged to his death at the moment his father's mountain hideout was abruptly invaded. By that time Muḥammad's father, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, had already been arrested for refusing to cooperate with the caliph in providing information on his sons' whereabouts. Other arrests rapidly followed, including that of Muḥammad's son ʿAlī, who was seized in Egypt. Eventually Abū Jaʿfar decided to have the imprisoned supporters, both Ḥasanids and others, taken out of Medina and commanded Riyāḥ to transport them to Iraq, specifically to al-Rabadhah, where the caliph was then in residence.

Ṭabarī vividly portrays the humiliations endured by the shackled prisoners during this transportation and includes dramatic accounts of the caliphal vengeance exacted upon those who were brought before the sovereign presence. The scenes involving Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's stepbrother and great-grandson of the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, depict his being severely beaten and stripped naked before a final beheading. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, a brother to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, was scourged to insensibility, while a cousin Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was entombed alive in a building support. In a cunning effort to consolidate Khurāsānī allegiance, al-Manṣūr then sent the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr to that province with a proclamation intended to convince people that it was the head of the Ḥasanid pretender, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh.

Meanwhile, that insurgent himself was alive and active in Medina, gathering the support necessary to stage an open rebellion on 27 Jumādā II 145. After the initial actions of storming the city and capturing its governor, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent representatives to the major administrative centers in the peninsula. His governor for Mecca, al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, successfully subdued the superior forces of Abū Jaʿfar's incumbent. In the meantime, a succession of messengers informed al-Manṣūr of Muḥammad's uprising, and the caliph prepared his retaliation. When an exchange of correspondence between the two proved futile, Abū Jaʿfar sought knowledgeable advice, including that of his imprisoned uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, and recruited his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to lead the countering forces.

Both internal and external pressures undermined the initial popular support that Muḥammad enjoyed. While ʿĪsā b. Mūsā

persuaded leading citizens of Medina to withdraw their allegiance, Muḥammad himself announced clemency for those whose fear of ʿĪsā's advancing forces drove them from the city. As a military staging ground, Medina was a strategic disaster, a fact made clear to both al-Manṣūr and Muḥammad in the respective advice offered to them. Despite the heroic efforts of Muḥammad's remaining supporters, therefore, the city proved ultimately indefensible, and the black banner of the ʿAbbāsid forces was soon flying from the minaret of the Prophet's mosque. Muḥammad himself fell at the hands of the redoubtable Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, and ʿĪsā sent his head to the caliph.

In the aftermath of defeat, civil chaos gripped Medina as a consequence of the new governor's refusal or inability to discipline the occupying forces. Cheated merchants lashed out, and black slaves rose in revolt, precipitating widespread public disorder. The particular incidents that Ṭabarī relates doubtless reflect the general sense of economic and political uncertainty in post-rebellion Medina.

After a narrative interlude describing the site selection and preliminary construction of Baghdad, Ṭabarī moves on to the second ʿAlid uprising, that mounted by Muḥammad's brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Once more, against a telescoped account of the protagonist's furtive contacts and frequent relocation, Ṭabarī builds a scene of impending eruption. Guided by the reports of his intelligence service, al-Manṣūr acted to forestall Ibrāhīm's suspected strategic maneuvers. Yet when the latter publicly proclaimed his rebellion in al-Baṣrah on the first day of Ramaḍān 145, less than nine weeks after his brother's uprising, the caliph's readiness to respond was hampered by insufficient troop strength. Ibrāhīm's rapid deployment of representatives and forces to al-Ahwāz, Fārs, and Wāsiṭ secured his initial advantage, while Abū Jaʿfar was forced to scour the provinces for military reinforcements.

The tide turned, however, when word of Muḥammad's defeat in the Ḥijāz allowed the caliph to recall ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. After a rapid return, ʿĪsā massed his forces for the final battle at Bākhamrā. Recounting the first stages of this engagement, which favored Ibrāhīm's forces, Ṭabarī depicts ʿĪsā's intrepid resistance in the face of his fleeing troops. After Ibrāhīm suffered strategic misfortunes, however, the ʿAbbāsid fortune began to ascend once again. An arrow struck the insurgent's throat, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah

repeated his lethal attack against an ʿAlid pretender, as his troops converged on the stricken Ibrāhīm. Once again a severed head was set before Abū Jaʿfar, and as this volume draws to a close the caliph weeps at the sight of it, lamenting the consequences of his kinsman's abortive claim.

From the various materials and the multiple accounts with which Ṭabarī composed this section of his history, some elements of particular note stand forth. Among the more interesting are the character delineations offered for Abū Jaʿfar and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. The caliph emerges as a man of relentless intent, willing to pursue an objective by every available means and over a prolonged period of time. His resoluteness verges on atrocity when, for example, he orders the severed head of Muḥammad paraded around al-Kūfah or when he commands a young boy to view his father's corpse as he awaits his own execution. Ṭabarī reports instances when al-Manṣūr gave assurances of safe-conduct only to renege on them later. The caliph's attempt to placate or intimidate the Khurāsānīs through subterfuge, despite the later disclaimer that this was his only lie, compounds the impression of mendacity. More positively, Abū Jaʿfar is presented as a man willing to seek advice and to heed or reject it as he sees fit. The sources show a man capable of self-critical reflection and one who can acknowledge errors of judgment. A few telling vignettes portray him in prolonged periods of silence and withdrawal, brooding over the dangers he perceives and the decisions he must make. According to some accounts, he could retreat to such an extent that he would refuse to change his garments or to have sexual contact with his wives. In less troubling circumstances, he could offer praise to others and even confess the nickname "Father of Farthings" (Abū Dawānīq), which his reputation for miserliness had inspired.

More than that of his brother Ibrāhīm, the person of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh comes through these pages as a vivid, multifaceted reality. Physically he was a man of considerable bulk, one whose weight rattled the *minbar* as he mounted its steps. His love of certain foods is noted, and an account treating the day on which Muḥammad died in battle actually mentions his being fed honey dipped in water. His corpulence also provoked

adverse comment, however, because it was perceived as incompatible with the physique of a true warrior. Morally, Muḥammad is represented as a pious Muslim, a man of rectitude who rigorously kept the fast and the rhythms of required and supererogatory prayer and who modeled himself upon his namesake in the conduct of war. Repeatedly, the accounts portray a person reluctant to go to war and unwilling to use the guerrilla tactics that might ensure a speedy victory. His refusal to retreat when the battle turned against him demonstrates his military courage, but his willingness to release his supporters shows that he does not regard victory at any price as an acceptable choice. A final vignette should be noted, not for its inherent historical value, but simply because it so deftly demonstrates what a small detail can reveal about the human person. One day, as Muḥammad was preaching in the mosque of Medina, he kept trying to clear his throat of phlegm. He apparently suffered from certain speech problems, which such a situation could only have exacerbated. In any event, on this occasion, after several unsuccessful attempts, he finally freed his throat, threw back his head, and expectorated on the mosque ceiling.

In addition to the skillful character delineation that Ṭabarī presents within these pages, mention must made of the critical role that exchange of correspondence occupies within the primary episodes of this section. The most important of these, the letters that al-Manṣūr wrote to Abā Muslim and to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh represent significant statements of caliphal authority and hegemony. In particular, the lengthy exchange between the caliph and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh charts the principal lines of argumentation for the competing ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid claims. In their initial statements the first two of these letters structurally parallel each other, commencing with a Qurʾānic prologue and extending corresponding grants of immunity. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's response to Abū Jaʿfar then opens the debate about purity of lineage, a challenge to which the caliph responds with both excoriation and counterclaim.

Finally, it is interesting to mark the manifold roles that women assume within these 231 pages of Ṭabarī's text. The lineage debate just noted focused repeatedly on the relative superiority of female forebears. Foreshadowing the developed argument made

by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh stands the sharp exchange between al-Manṣūr and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan in which the latter flaunts his genetic superiority. In addition to these frequently invoked female ancestors, however, there are intriguing glimpses of women in many scenes. Some are the royal wives and consorts who were brought to the caliph's household by capture or contract, such as the women taken in the conquest of Ṭabaristān and the niece of Abū Jaʿfar, Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās. Women close to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh figure in a number of episodes, as when his mother, Hind, disguises herself in order to visit her imprisoned husband. With the failure of Muḥammad's rebellion, it is his sister Zaynab and his daughter Fāṭimah who come forward to claim his body for burial.

ʿAbbāsid victory is signaled by a woman, as Asmāʾ bt. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh orders the black banner flown from the minaret of Medina. Yet more active involvement is credited to Ḥammādah bt. Muʿāwiyah, who is said to have killed her uncle Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar because his refusal to support Muḥammad's rebellion was jeopardizing the lives of her brothers in their own support for the claimant. The death of Abū al-Qalammas, a staunch defender of Muḥammad, is avenged by the clever trickery of his concubine. Beyond the confines of Muḥammad's action in Medina, there is additional mention of female battle involvement. In a particularly intriguing reference for the year 139, Ṭabarī notes that, when Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī fought in that year's summer campaign against the Byzantines, he was accompanied by his sisters, Umm ʿĪsā and Lubābah, "for they had vowed that if the Umayyad reign came to an end they would fight 'in the path of God.' "

Female companionship is also negatively assessed, at least by implication. During the period of hostilities surrounding ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAli, one soldier lost his life when he took the risk of slipping into town to visit a slave girl. As noted above, caliphal celibacy during the engagement with Muḥammad is contrasted with the latter's continuing access to accompanying concubines. A sense of negativity or ambivalence also surrounds the pejorative reference to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan as a woman in *ʿiddah* and to the mysterious appearance of jinn in female form. But disguised appearances are not limited to females, whether human or jinn. In one of the more vivid accounts that Ṭabarī presents of the

intensive search mounted for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh by Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān there occurs a surprising episode. When Riyāḥ happened upon him unexpectedly, Muḥammad quickly threw his cloak over his face and feigned a feminine posture. Despite his size, he was sufficiently convincing as a female impersonator to prompt Riyāḥ's polite withdrawal. In that moment, at least, Muḥammad was saved by a woman.

This volume of Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* translates pages 88–319 of the Tertia series of the Leiden edition. That edition, which Brill issued between 1879 and 1898 in three parallel series of fascicles, was prepared under the general direction of M. J. de Goeje. The printed text for the entire first section of the Tertia series (3/1:1–459) was established by M. Th. Houtsma, who assumed the task from Max Grünert. Houtsma worked from a manuscript in Berlin (ms. orient. fol. 69, siglum B), whose orthographic peculiarities were described in the Leiden introduction by M. I. Guidi, and from one in Algiers (no. 594), of which de Goeje offered a description. Sections of the Leiden pp. 102–9 and 186–89 are missing in this latter manuscript, omissions that Houtsma signaled in the critical apparatus of his text. The more recent Cairo edition, prepared by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, with some additions to the Leiden manuscript base, incorporates the Leiden pagination, as well as extensive use of punctuation, paragraph division, and additional subheadings.

The sources upon which Ṭabarī relied in preparing this segment of ʿAbbāsid history vary from its earlier to its later sections. From the year 136 until 143 he most frequently cites the noted historian ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 235/850) but also includes such various informants as the author of *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), and al-Manṣūr's secretary/vizier Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī (d. 154/770–71). For a number of these years, however, no specific authorities are mentioned for events that Ṭabarī notes in brief.

As indicated above, Ṭabarī has focused primary attention in his coverage of the early years of al-Manṣūr's caliphate on the Ḥasanid rebellions mounted by the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, in Medina and al-Baṣrah respectively. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah al-Numayrī (d. 264/877), Ṭabarī's senior by some fifty years, serves as his principal source

for this material. Not surprisingly, ʿUmar b. Shabbah is credited with a book entitled *Kitāb akhbār Muḥammad wa-Ibrāhīm ibnay ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī*, which is also quoted extensively in *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, (d. 356/967). A source-critical analysis of ʿUmar b. Shabbah's work on the Ḥasanid rebellion was published about twenty years ago by Tilman Nagel.[1]

Ṭabarī supplemented Abū Zayd's work, however, with significant use of eyewitness accounts, some of them secured from direct lineal descendants of those most closely involved with the insurgency. Because Ṭabarī was born about seventy-five years after these events, about the interval of a child born today from the time of World War I, it is not surprising that he had access to such material and the multiple perspectives that it provided.

In this translation I have attempted to follow the Arabic text with fidelity and precision but also to render that text in a manner pleasing and accessible to the English-speaking reader. Many pronominal referents have therefore been expressed more fully, and translations of the ubiquitous *qāla* (he said) have been varied in an effort to capture the tenor of the statement or response. Where necessary, interpolated words or phrases, enclosed in square brackets, have been added to the translation to provide clarification of the intended meaning. I have also tried to identify all personal and place names through reference to the standard bio/bibliographical and geographical sources. Inevitably some names that are cited only once in the *Taʾrīkh* eluded identification. Titles of primary and secondary sources cited more than once have been abbreviated in the footnotes but given fully in the bibliography. Technical terms have been offered in translation with an accompanying annotation of the Arabic original, and allusions to earlier events in Islamic and pre-Islamic history have been specified where significant.

My work on this text was supported by an award from the University Research Committee of Emory University and by grants

1. "Ein früher Bericht über den Augstand von Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh im Jahre 145 h," *Der Islam* XLVI (1970), 227–62. See also S. Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen.*

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Jane Dammen McAuliffe

The Caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (whose personal names were ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad)

[88]

The Events of the Year 136 (cont'd)[1]

(July 7, 753–June 26, 754)

In this year the oath of allegiance[2] was given to Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr[3] on the day that his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās[4] died. Abū

1. Other sources for this part of the year 136: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 215–17; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 437–41; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 377; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375–76; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 436–37; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 158–64; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 156–57; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 461–63; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 159–61; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 61; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 384–85; Suyūṭī, *Khulafāʾ*, 259–60.

2. The *bayʿah* is defined by Ibn Khaldūn as "a contract to render obedience." *Muqaddimah*, I, 428; EI^2, s.v. (E. Tyan).

3. Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was the second ʿAbbāsid caliph, his twenty-one-year reign following that of his brother, al-Saffāḥ; EI^2, s.v. (H. Kennedy). On his regnal titles "*al-Manṣūr*," see Lewis, "Regnal Titles"; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 176–77; Omar, *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 142–44; Hassuri, "Epithets."

4. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, the great-great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle, was hailed as caliph by the revolutionary generals in al-Kūfah on 12 Rabīʿ II 132 (November 28, 749). After a reign of less than five years, he died at about the age of thirty years on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/June 10. EI^1, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); EI^2, s.v. (S. Moscati); Ṭabarī, III, 87–88; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 46–56; Amedroz, "Laqab ʿal-Saffāḥʾ."

Jaʿfar being at the time in Mecca, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā[5] was the one who received the oath of allegiance in Iraq on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar after the death of Abū al-ʿAbbās. ʿĪsā then wrote to inform him of the
[89] fact that his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās had died and that the oath of allegiance had been rendered to him [as caliph].

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad[6]—al-Haytham[7]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh:[8] When Abū al-ʿAbbās was near death, he ordered the people to render the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad. Accordingly, the people gave the oath of allegiance to him in al-Anbār[9] on the day that Abū al-ʿAbbās died. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā assumed executive authority and sent Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī[10] to Abū Jaʿfar (who was then in Mecca) to report to him on the death of Abū al-ʿAbbās and on the oath of allegiance. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn met Abū Jaʿfar at a place on the road called Zakiyyah. When the letter was delivered to him, Abū Jaʿfar called the people together, and they gave their oath of alle-

5. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the nephew and heir-designate of al-Saffāḥ, served as governor of al-Kūfah under both al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. According to Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 76, his was the "second longest tenure of any governor during the early Abbasid period," *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 43.

6. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 225?/840) was a prominent early historian who was born in al-Baṣrah and died in Baghdad, and the titles, of whose books may, for the most part, be culled only from the quotes and citations of later authors. *EI*², s.v. (U. Sezgin); *GAS*, I, 314–15; *GAL*, I, 140–41; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, VII, 211; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung"; Dūrī, *Historical Writing*, 48–50 and *passim*; Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 92–99 and *passim*.

7. Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī al-Ṭāʾī (d. 206?/821) was a frequently quoted historian, genealogist (although his reliability as both did not go unquestioned), and attendant at the early ʿAbbāsid courts, including that of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. *EI*², s.v. (C. Pellat); *GAS*, I, 272; *GAL*, I, 140; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, XIII, 156; Dūrī, *Historical Writing*, 53–54 and *passim*; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 177–80.

8. Abū al-Jarrāḥ ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf al-Hamdānī was an *akhbārī*, genealogist, transmitter of poetry, and frequenter of al-Manṣūr's court. The genesis of his *laqab*, "the one whose beard was plucked," is recounted by Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 393–94. Although Ṣafadī gives a death date of 158, the year in which al-Manṣūr died, Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 97, places him in the necrology of 136. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 14–16.

9. Al-Anbār, "the Storehouses," was a city on the Euphrates, some fifty-five kilometers west of Baghdad, that served as the ʿAbbāsid capital under Abū al-ʿAbbās and remained so for Abū Jaʿfar until the development of Baghdad. *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck and A. A. Duri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 257–58; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 45; Le Strange, *Lands*, 31–32, 65–66.

10. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī is recorded as the governor of Ahwāz (Khūzistān) in 145. Ṭabarī, III, 301.

giance to him. Abū Muslim[11] also rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Abū Ja'far asked, "Where are we?" When he was told that the place was called "Zakiyyah," he [punned upon the place name and] said, "Things will go well for us,[12] God willing!" Some sources have said that after finishing the Pilgrimage Abū Ja'far received his oath of allegiance at a stage on the Mecca highway called Ṣufayyah.[13] He thought the name auspicious, and [playing upon the word] he exclaimed, "It [the caliphate] has become ours alone,[14] God willing!"[15]

To return to the account of 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd[16]— [90] his father: When the news of Abū al-'Abbās' death reached Abū Ja'far, he wrote to Abū Muslim, who was then encamped at a watering place, whereas Abū Ja'far had already gone on ahead of him. Abū Muslim then moved forward until he reached Abū Ja'far.

Additionally, other sources have said that Abū Muslim was the one who had advanced beyond Abū Ja'far and had, therefore, discovered the news of the caliph's death before him, so it was *he* who wrote to Abū Ja'far:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God keep you in good estate and give you enjoyment. I have heard something that has upset me deeply and has effected me as nothing before. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn met me as he was carrying a letter to you from 'Īsā b. Mūsā about the death of Abū al-'Abbās, the Commander of the Faithful, may God have mercy upon him. We ask God to magnify greatly your future recompense,

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11. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim was a revolutionary leader of the 'Abbāsid movement in Khurāsān and governor of that province. His name is later associated with both religious heterodoxies and literary romances. *EI*[1], s.v. (W. Barthold); *EI*[2], s.v. (S. Moscati); Moscati, "Abū Muslim"; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 100–24; Lassner, "Origins."

12. *Amr yazkā lanā.*

13. Yāqūt (via al-Aṣma'ī) identifies this as a watering place for the Banū Asad, lying near a hill and a stony tract. *Buldān*, III, 415.

14. *Ṣafat lanā.*

15. As Moscati notes, the radicals of both place-names permit the expression of a propitious signification. "Abū Muslim. III," 92, n3.

16. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham or al-Qaḥdhamī.

> to give you a good caliphate, and to bless you in whatever you do. Truly among your people there is no one who asserts your claim more vigorously, who counsels you with a purer heart, and who is more desirous of what would please you than I.

Abū Muslim dispatched the letter to Abū Jaʿfar but waited out that day, and only on the next did he send his oath of allegiance to him, intending thus to intimidate Abū Jaʿfar.

To return to the account of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: After Abū Muslim had sat down with him, Abū Jaʿfar tossed the letter announcing Abū al-ʿAbbās's death to him. He read it and wept, then piously invoked the formula "To God we belong and to Him is our return."[17] Abū Muslim looked at Abū Jaʿfar, who appeared to be very uneasy, and said to him, "Why this alarm when the caliphate is already yours?" Abū Jaʿfar replied, "I fear the malice of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī[18] and those loyal to (*shīʿah*) ʿAlī."[19] Abū Muslim responded, "Do not be afraid of him; God willing, I will deal with the problem of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī for you. The rank and file of his army and associates are Khurāsānī[20] troops, and they will surely not disobey me!" At this Abū Jaʿfar felt his anxiety relieved. Abū Muslim rendered him the oath of allegiance, as did all the other people present, and the two of them continued on until they reach al-Kūfah.[21]

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17. Qur'ān, 2:156. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1040, the verb *istarjaʿa* signifies the repetition of this Qur'ānic formula in moments of affliction. Lings, *Sufi Saint*, 41, attests to this "much loved and often repeated verse which the Qoran recommends especially for recitation in time of adversity."

18. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, the uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, was commander of the ʿAbbāsid forces in the critical battle against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen and S. Moscati). Historical sources record his large-scale exterminations, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 321, dubs him "one of the most cunning men." Tuqan, "ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī."

19. The *shīʿah* of ʿAlī (b. Abī Ṭālib) represented a rival claim to valid dynastic succession from the Prophet Muḥammad. While in this period the connotation of the term *shīʿah* was still somewhat loose, the competing claims associated with the ʿAbbāsid and the Ḥasanids are represented in the exchange of letters between Abū Jaʿfar and the ʿAlid pretender, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in the year 145.

20. Khurāsān was a large easterly region, comprising parts of what are now Iran, Afghanistan, and Soviet Central Asia, that was the center of ʿAbbāsid revolutionary activity. *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

21. Al-Kūfah, a military establishment on the Euphrates, became one of the principal political and cultural centers of the early Islamic world. *EI*², s.v. (H. Djaït).

Abū Jaʿfar sent Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh[22] back to Mecca, Ziyād having previously been governor both of it and of Medina under Abū al-ʿAbbās. Some sources recount that before he died Abū al-ʿAbbās had removed Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī as governor of Mecca and appointed al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās[23] in his stead. [91]

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī came to Abū al-ʿAbbās at al-Anbār, where the caliph entrusted him with responsibility for the summer campaign[24] at the head of forces drawn from Khurāsān, Syria, the Jazīrah,[25] and al-Mawṣil.[26] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī marched forth and got as far as Dulūk,[27] but he had not advanced into enemy territory at the time when news of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death came to him.[28]

In this year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and Abū al-Jahm[29] sent Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād[30] to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to receive his oath of alle-

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22. Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī, maternal uncle of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, was appointed governor of Mecca and Medina in 133, keeping this position until 141, except for the year 136 when the post was assigned to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 24. Ziyād's rise as a young army recruit under the tutelage of the Baṣran governor and general, Khālid al-Qasrī, is sketched in Crone, *Slaves*, 55.

23. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20. Ṭabarī, III, 121, records his death in 137. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 439.

24. The summer raids (*ṣawāʾif*, sing. *ṣāʾifah*) against the Byzantine border positions were regular features of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid military policy.

25. The Jazīrah was the northern province between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. *EI²*, s.v. al-Djazīra (M. Canard); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 134–36.

26. Al-Mawṣil was a principal city in the Jazīrah; it lay across the Tigris from the site of ancient Nineveh. *EI²*, s.v. (E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 223–25.

27. Dulūk was a frontier fortress town on the Anatolian-Syrian border almost due north of Aleppo (Ḥalab). *EI²*, s.v. (D. Sourdel); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 17; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 472, 478–79; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 461.

28. See Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437, who contradicts this statement, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 159. Azdī later (p. 163) cites ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's location as Dābiq, also a city near Aleppo.

29. Abū Jahm b. ʿAṭīyah, a *mawlā* of the Bāhilah, is listed by Ṭabarī, III, 88, as al-Saffāḥ's vizier. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 71, questions the significance of this when contrasted with other mentions in both Ṭabarī and Jahshiyārī. Goitein, *Studies*, 173; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 112, 136; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 165; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, 82; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6.

30. Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād was a chamberlain of Abū al-ʿAbbās and son of the governor of Mecca and Medina, Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh. See note 22, above; Crone, *Slaves*, 149; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437.

giance to al-Manṣūr. But ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī proceeded to Ḥarrān[31] with his accompanying forces, who had already sworn the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage in this year. We have already mentioned his governorship and the one to whom he delegated it while he was away as a pilgrim.[32]

The governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, while the head of its judiciary was Ibn Abī Laylā.[33] Sulaymān b. ʿAlī[34] was governor of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, while ʿAbbād b. al-Manṣūr[35] headed its judiciary. The governor of Medina was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī; of Mecca, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad; and of Egypt, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī.[36]

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31. Ḥarrān, an ancient city in the Jazīrah, served as capital for the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. *EI*², s.v. (G. Fehérvári); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 235–36; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 18; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 481–82, 489, 495; Le Strange, *Lands*, 103, 124.

32. Abū Jaʿfar was governor of the Jazīrah and, according to al-Wāqidī, of Armenia and Ādharbayjān as well. His deputy during the Pilgrimage period was Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī. Ṭabarī, III, 87, 93.

33. Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (d. 148/765), a prominent judge (serving as that of al-Kūfah for thirty-three years), jurisprudent (*faqīh*), and teacher of Qurʾānic recitation (*muqriʾ*). *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 221–23; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 310–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 268–69; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 179–81.

34. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 142/759) was an uncle of Abū al-ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar and governor of al-Baṣrah under both of them. As one charged with responsibility for the Pilgrimage season during the caliphate of al-Saffāḥ, he is remembered for marking that event by the annual manumission of 100 slaves. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 162–63; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 406; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 185; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 20, 34; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40.

35. Abū Salamah ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr al-Nājī (d. 152/769), whose reliability as a *muḥaddith* was questioned, served five appointments as the chief justice of al-Baṣrah. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 270; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 105–6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 612–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 90–91; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 174.

36. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. *circa* 151/768) was an uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr who commanded the expedition that pursued Marwān II to his death in Egypt. He was successively the governor of Egypt and of Syria. *EI*¹, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 97–101; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 18–19; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 100–1; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 264–65; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 26, 28. Balog, "Pious Invocations," 63–65, notes the use of specific formulas associated with his name to be found on early Egyptian glass.

The Events of the Year [92]

137

(June 27, 754–June 15, 755)

Among the events of this year were the arrival of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr from Mecca and his encampment at al-Ḥīrah.[37] He found that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had already left for al-Anbār, having appointed Ṭalḥah b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath[38] to take his place in al-Kūfah. Abū Jaʿfar entered al-Kūfah and led its people in the Friday prayer.[39] He preached to them and told them that he would be

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37. Al-Ḥīrah was a town just south of al-Kūfah that served as capital of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid domain. *EI*¹, s.v. (F. Buhl); *EI*², s.v. (A. F. L. Beeston and I. Shahid); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 328–31; Lassner, *Shaping*, 143–51. On the signification of this toponym, see Lammens, "La «bādia» et la «ḥīra» sous les Omayyades: Le problème de Mśattā," in his *Études*, 325–50.

38. Ṭalḥah b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Kindī was the son of an Umayyad general and one of several descendants of Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī, who played a "modest role in the local politics of Kufa." More lasting prestige has accrued to their ninth-century kinsman, the philosopher Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī. Crone, *Slaves*, 111; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 313; Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 232.

39. The Friday *ṣalāt* is an occasion of mandated communal worship. Its leadership constituted one of the symbolic acts by which caliphal legitimacy was recognized in the early Islamic period. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 70–73.

leaving them.[40] Abū Muslim appeared before him in al-Ḥīrah. Then Abū Jaʿfar left for al-Anbār and took up residence there, collecting his men about him.[41]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd—his father: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had put a guard on the treasuries, storehouses, and government offices by the time Abū Jaʿfar reached him at al-Anbār. The people gave the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar as caliph, then to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā as his successor. Then ʿĪsā b. Mūsā turned over authority to Abū Jaʿfar. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had already sent Abū Ghassān, whose name was Yazīd b. Ziyād and who was the chamberlain of Abū al-ʿAbbās, to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to receive his oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar. That was done by order of Abū al-ʿAbbās, who before he died had commanded the people to give the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar after him [i.e., as his successor].

Abū Ghassān reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī at the entrance to the mountain passes when the latter was starting out on his campaign against the Byzantines. He was encamped at a place called Dulūk at the time when Abū Ghassān came to him with news of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī ordered a herald to announce a general gathering for the ritual prayer. The army commanders and troops gathered around him, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī read to them the death announcement for Abū al-ʿAbbās, but then called upon the people to support his own claim to the caliphate.[42] He told them that, at the time when Abū al-ʿAbbās wanted to send forces against Marwān b. Muḥammad,[43] he had
[93] summoned his paternal brothers and urged them to move out against Marwān b. Muḥammad. He had said, "Whoever of you rises up and proceeds against him will be my heir apparent."[44]

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40. Abū Jaʿfar's action echoes that of Abū al-ʿAbbās, who less than five years earlier also gave his coronation speech from the *minbar* in al-Kūfah. Ṭabarī, III, 29–30.

41. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭarafa*.

42. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 216–17; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437–38; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 159, 163; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 373–74.

43. Marwān II, known as Marwān the Onager, or Wild Ass (*al-ḥimār*), or Marwān the Tight-fisted (*al-jaʿdī*), was the Umayyad caliph whose defeat ushered in the ʿAbbāsid era. *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 74–77.

44. When presented in the account of the battle at the river Zāb, the dialogue between Abū al-ʿAbbās and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī does not include this promise. Ṭabarī, III, 38. On the institution of *walī al-ʿahd*, see Kennedy, "Succession Disputes," 29–30.

[ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī continued,] "No one but me declared for him. It was thus that I left Abū al-ʿAbbās and killed those whom I killed."

Abū Ghānim al-Ṭāʾī[45] and Khufāf[46] al-Marwarrūdhī[47] stood up with a number of the Khurāsānī commanders and testified to the truth of what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had said. Therefore Abū Ghānim, Khufāf, Abū al-Aṣbagh, and all of the army commanders who were present rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Among them were Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah,[48] Khufāf al-Jurjānī, Ḥayyāsh b. Ḥabīb,[49] Mukhāriq b. Ghifār,[50] and Turārkhudā,[51] as well as others from Khurāsān, Syria, and the Jazīrah.

At this point ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was encamped at Tall Muḥammad.[52] When he had finished receiving the oath of allegiance, he set out to make camp at Ḥarrān, where Muqātil al-ʿAkkī,[53] whom Abū Jaʿfar had appointed as his deputy when he

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45. Abū Ghānim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿī al-Ṭāʾī, one of the seventy *duʿāt* (sing. *dāʿī*, the chief proselytes of the ʿAbbāsid movement), served under Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, fought in the battle of the Zāb, and numbered among those who swore allegiance to Abū al-ʿAbbās in the council that proclaimed him caliph. Ṭabarī, II, 2001, III, 15, 28; *EI²*, s.v. Dāʿī (M. G. S. Hodgson); *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221; Crone, *Slaves*, 174–75. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 163, records him as Abū Ghānim al-Kindī.

46. Khufāf b. Manṣūr al-Jurjānī, whose attempt to organize an attack against the caliph is recounted in Ṭabarī, III, 127, is listed only as Khufāf in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217.

47. Marw al-Rūdh is a city in Khurāsān known to the classical geographers as "upper Marw" or "little Marw." *EI²*, s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 112; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 152; Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5.

48. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī (d. 159/775–76) was a son of the prominent revolutionary general Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb (*EI²*, s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [M. Sharon]). Under al-Manṣūr he was governor of the Jazīrah, of Egypt, and of Khurāsān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 199; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 110–11. For use of the formula *aṣlaḥahu allāh* in association with him, see Balog, "Pious Invocations," 64.

49. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVI, for a citation from Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* as Jannāsh and Ḥabbāsh. At the battle of the Zāb he was charged with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's police force (*shurṭah*). Ṭabarī, III, 38.

50. Presumbably a genealogical affiliation with the Banū Ghifār (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 42, II, 275), but textual variants include al-ʿ?qān and al-ʿAffār. For the incident in which Mukhāriq tricked the Umayyad caliph Marwān II, see Ṭabarī, III, 39–40.

51. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 330.

52. A *tall* is a hill or mound. There is no mention of this site in the standard geographical sources.

53. Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī is listed by some sources as one of the alternates (*nuẓarāʾ al-nuqabāʾ*) to the twelve chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*, sing. *naqīb*) who were selected to direct the ʿAbbāsid movement. He fought for the ʿAbbāsid cause under

went out to meet Abū al-ʿAbbās, was in residence. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī urged Muqātil to offer him the oath of allegiance as caliph. Muqātil, however, refused to oblige him and fortified himself against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. The latter took action against him, besieging Muqātil until he had forced him to leave his stronghold. Then he killed him.[54]

Abū Jaʿfar then sent Abū Muslim to fight ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.[55] When word of Abū Muslim's approach reached ʿAbdallāh, he decided to halt at Ḥarrān. Abū Jaʿfar had said to Abū Muslim, "Either you or I must go [and deal with it]," so Abū Muslim marched toward ʿAbdallāh at Ḥarrān.[56] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had already gathered troops and weapons to himself, had dug trenches and collected food, fodder, and whatever else he would need. Abū Muslim thus left al-Anbār in company with every last one of the army commanders, and dispatched Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʾī[57] to lead his vanguard. With him were al-Ḥasan[58] and

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Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb and in 136 was appointed Abū Jaʿfar's deputy when the latter served as governor of the Jazīrah. Ṭabarī, III, 4–5, 87; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 220; Crone, *Slaves*, 185–86. Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 438, gives Mūsā b. Kaʿb as governor of Ḥarrān at the time of ʿAbdallāh's arrival. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 46, cites Muqātil's death at the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī in connection with that of one of the *duʿāt*, Abū ʿAmmārah Muḥammad b. Ṣūl.

54. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217, mentions the seige but not the murder of Muqātil.

55. For the encounter between ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and Abū Muslim, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217–19; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 441; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 438–9; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 103; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 117–18; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 374–75.

56. Cahen, "Points de vue," 332, suggests that Abū Muslim's willingness to accept this commission from the caliph, despite the latter's growing animosity, may lie in their having "quelques secrets de trop en commun."

57. Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʾī was a leading figure in the ʿAbbāsid revolution, head of Abū Muslim's security forces, and one of his trusted advisers. Although Abū Jaʿfar chastised him for his association with Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, III, 117), five years later he appointed Mālik governor of al-Mawṣil. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 177–78; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115–16; Crone, *Slaves*, 181; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192.

58. Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī (d. 181/797), brother of al-Ḥumayd (see note 48) and eventually governor of Armenia, occupied al-Kūfah in the early months of 132, clearing the way for the proclamation there of Abū al-ʿAbbās as caliph on 12 Rabīʿ II (or Rabīʿ I). Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 208 (where he is identified as one of the important generals during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd); Ṭabarī, III, 23; Caetania, *Cronografia generale*, 112; Crone, *Slaves*, 188; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 354.

Ḥumayd, the sons of Qaḥṭabah.[59] Ḥumayd had already withdrawn his allegiance from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, so ʿAbdallāh wanted [94] to kill him. Abū Isḥāq[60] and his brother and Abū Ḥumayd[61] and his brother, as well as a contingent of the Khurāsānī troops, joined him in this campaign. At the time that he left the province, Abū Muslim had appointed Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm[62] as his deputy in Khurāsān.

Al-Haytham said: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's siege of Muqātil al-ʿAkkī lasted forty nights [and forty days]. When news of Abū Muslim's approach reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, he, not having yet defeated Muqātil and fearing that Abū Muslim would attack him, offered al-ʿAkkī a pledge of safe-conduct (*amān*).[63] Muqātil at the head of his confederates came out to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's camp and stayed there for a few days. Then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī sent Muqātil, together with his two sons, to ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Surāqah al-Azdī[64] at al-Raqqah.[65] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī wrote a letter to ʿUthmān

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59. Abū ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb b. Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī (d. 132/749), one of the twelve chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*) of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, died in the final days of battle before the occupation of al-Kūfah. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216; *EI*², s.v. (M. Sharon); Crone, *Slaves*, 188; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 191. Shacklady explores his father's connections with the ʿAbbāsid family in "ʿAbbāsid Movement in Khurāsan," 103–4.

60. Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. ʿUthmān al-Mikhrāsh was from the Khurāsānī village of al-Mākhwān, a site that Abū Muslim used as a fortified encampment during the period of revolt. As commander of the guard (*ḥaras*), Abū Isḥāq served as a member of the military government Abū Muslim established before the occupation of Marw in 130. Ṭabarī, II, 1967, 1989.

61. Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī was an officer who served under Qaḥṭabah during the ʿAbbāsid revolt. In 132 he was appointed governor of Manbij in the Jazīrah by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī during the latter's pursuit of Marwān II. Ṭabarī, II, 2001; III, 47; Crone, *Slaves*, 175.

62. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, a *naqīb* from the Banū ʿAmr b. Shaybān, became governor of Khurāsān after Abū Muslim's death. The peculiar circumstances of his death are related in the chapter on year 140. Ṭabari, II, 1988; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 104–5; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 72; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 47.

63. For *amān*, see *EI*² s.v. (J. Schacht). For the symbolic use of four, forty, four hundred, etc., to express notions of magnitude or perfection, see L. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad"; Rescher, "Einige nachträgliche Bemerkungen."

64. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, a general under Marwān II, in 132 led a rebellion against ʿAbdāllah b. ʿAlī in Damascus. Ṭabari, III, 53; Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ Dimashq*, 76; Crone, *Slaves*, 129. Compare this passage with Yaqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164, where there is no mention of the murder of Muqātil.

65. Al-Raqqah, "the Marshland," was the principal town of the Diyār Muḍar district in the Jazīrah. It lay on the left bank of the Euphrates about 100 kilometers

and handed it to al-ʿAkkī. After the party reached ʿUthmān, he killed al-ʿAkkī and imprisoned his two sons. When he [later] heard about the defeat of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and the Syrians at Naṣībīn,[66] ʿUthmān took Muqātil's two sons from prison and beheaded them.

Fearing that the Khurāsānī forces would not remain faithful to him, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had about 17,000[67] of them killed by way of an order to his prefect of police. He dispatched Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to Aleppo,[68] which at that time was governed by Zufar b. ʿĀṣim,[69] with a letter that he had written about him. The letter read, "When Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah reaches you, behead him."[70] Partway through the journey Ḥumayd began to think about the letter he carried. Saying to himself, "My carrying a letter and not knowing what is in it is a dangerous business," he undid the scroll and read it. When he saw what was in the letter, he summoned some of his close comrades and told them the situation, revealing to them his predicament and seeking their counsel. He said, "Any of you who want to make for safe ground and get out of here should come with me; I am going to head for Iraq." He told them [again] what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had written about him and said to them, "Anyone who cannot bring himself to make the trip
[95] should not on any account reveal my secret purpose but may go wherever he wishes."

Al-Haytham continued: Some of his men decided to stay with Ḥumayd in his flight. Ḥumayd commanded his horses to be shod,

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south of Ḥarrān. *EI*¹, s.v. (E. Honigmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 58–60.

66. Naṣībīn was an ancient city (classical Nisibis) lying on the river Hirmās in the Diyār Rabīʿah district of the Jazīrah. This is where ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was defeated by Abū Muslim's forces. Ṭabarī, III, 95–8; *EI*¹, s.v. (E. Honigmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 21; Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–95; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 288–89.

67. This figure is repeated in *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (K. V. Zetterstéen and S. Moscati), and Tuqan, "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī," 20, but questioned by Lassner, *Shaping*, 258, no. 30.

68. Ḥalab was the principal city of northern Syria. *EI*², s.v. (J. Sauvaget); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 282–90.

69. Zufar b. ʿĀṣim al-Hilālī, although involved in ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's revolt, was later al-Manṣūr's appointed governor of Medina and then of the Jazīrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 166; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 36; Kenney, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 70 n. 13.

70. The treacherous letter is a familiar topos in Arabic literature. A prominent early example is the letter said to have been given to the Jāhilī poet Ṭarafah b. ʿAbd al-Bakrī by the king of al-Ḥīrah, ʿAmr b. Hind. *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭarafa (F. Krenkow).

and his companions did the same for their own mounts as they prepared themselves to go with him. He then took off with them into the desert, shunning the beaten path[71] and heading for al-Ruṣāfah, i.e., al-Ruṣāfah of [the Umayyad caliph] Hishām in Syria.[72] There lived in al-Ruṣāfah at that time a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī named Saʿīd al-Barbarī. When he heard that Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah had set himself in opposition to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and taken to the desert, he set off in search of him with the cavalry under his command. Somewhere on the road Saʿīd overtook Ḥumayd. When Ḥumayd caught sight of him, he doubled back his horse to meet Saʿīd and said to him, "Look here! Surely you know who I am! In God's name, what good would it do you to fight me? Go back! Do not massacre my comrades and yours. That's your best course." When Saʿīd heard Ḥumayd hold forth, he recognized the truth of what he had said to him. Thereupon he returned to his place at al-Ruṣāfah, and Ḥumayd and his men continued on. The commander of his guard, Mūsā b. Maymūn, said to Ḥumayd, "I have a slave girl in al-Ruṣāfah. If you are of a mind to permit me, I shall go there and charge her with various commissions. Then I will catch up with you." Ḥumayd gave him permission, and Mūsā went and stayed with her. He then left al-Ruṣāfah to return to Ḥumayd, but Saʿīd al-Barbarī, the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, happened upon Mūsā, seized him, and killed him.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī marched forward until he encamped at Naṣībīn and dug a trench to thwart his opponent. Abū Muslim, too, drew near. Abū Jaʿfar wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, who was his deputy in Armenia,[73] to join forces with Abū Muslim. Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah reached Abū Muslim when the latter was at al-Mawṣil. Abū Muslim, however, moved forward, stopping by himself and paying him no attention, then taking the road to Syria. Abū Muslim wrote to ʿAbdallāh, "I have not been ordered

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71. *Bahraja al-ṭarīq*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *bahraja*.

72. Al-Ruṣāfah was a desert city some forty kilometers southwest of al-Raqqah that had been the residence of the tenth Umayyad caliph, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105–25/724–43). s.v. (E. Honigmann) *EI*[1]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 11; Le Strange, *Lands*, 106; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 47–48.

73. Armenia was a mountainous West Asian region under Muslim hegemony from which the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates derive. *EI*[2], s.v. Armīniya (M. Canard).

to fight you or sent to do so. The Commander of the Faithful has, however, put me in charge of Syria, and I simply intend to proceed thither." The Syrians who accompanied ʿAbdallāh said to him, "How can we stay with you when this man is coming to our homeland, where dwell our womenfolk, to kill those of our men whom he can and to take our children captive! We must leave for our own country, so that we can keep him away from our women and children and can fight him if he fights us." ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī said to them, "I swear, he is not making for Syria; the only reason he has been sent is to fight you. If you stay here, then he will surely come to you." The Syrian troops, however, were not persuaded and refused to do anything but strike out for Syria.

Abū Muslim moved forward and set up camp near them, just as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī set out with his troops heading for Syria. Abū Muslim moved on to occupy ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's encampment in his stead and spoil the surrounding water sources by throwing decaying carcasses into them.[74]

News of Abū Muslim's stop at his encampment reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who said to his Syrian confederates, "Did I not tell you!" So he moved back again but discovered that Abū Muslim had already forestalled him in his own encampment. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī therefore occupied the camp position that Abū Muslim had just vacated. They engaged each other for five or six months. The Syrians had more cavalry and were better equipped, having Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī[75] on ʿAbdallāh's right flank, Ḥabīb b. Suwayd al-Asadī on his left, and ʿAbd al-Samad b. ʿAlī[76] leading the cavalry. On Abu Muslim's right flank was al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, while on the left was Abū Naṣr Khāzim b. Khuzaymah.[77] They fought each other for several months.

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74. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 477 n. 1, offers *radama al-ʿuyūn*, i.e., "fill up the wells," as an equivalent of *ʿawwara al-miyāh*.

75. Despite his involvement with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Jaʿfar named Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī governor of Armenia in 152. Crone, *Slaves*, 106; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178. Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 231–32.

76. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's youngest brother and the only one to support his claim to the caliphate. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 466; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 59–60; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 103.

77. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was an important Khurāsānī general who fought for Abū Jaʿfar against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, against Mulabbid b. Ḥarmalah in the Jazīrah, ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Azdī in Khurāsān, the Ispahbādh of Ṭabaristān and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in al-Baṣrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 180; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 354; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 81–82.

According to ʿAlī—Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī:[78] I was in Abū Muslim's camp when one day those present were talking and the question of what people are strongest was raised. Abū Muslim said, "Speak up so that I may hear." One man said that it was the Khurāsānīs, while another said it was the Syrians. Abū Muslim said, "Every group is strongest in its own turn (*dawlah*)."[79] We met in combat, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's forces attacked us, sweeping us from our positions with the blow they struck and then retiring. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad assaulted us with cavalry alone and killed [97] eighteen of our men, only to draw back with his troops. Then they all assembled and flung themselves upon us, scattering our ranks so that we moved around in disorder. I said to Abū Muslim, "What if I were to prod my mount up to the top of that hill so I could shout to the troops, for they are in flight?" Abū Muslim told me to do so. I said, "You, too, could spur your horse." "Shrewd people would never turn their horses aside in such a way," Abū Muslim retorted, "but, by all means, call out: 'O men of Khurāsān, come back; surely the outcome favors the one who is on his guard.' "[80] I did so, and the troops came back. On that day Abū Muslim declaimed in *rajaz* meter this line:

The one who deserts his comrades and does not return
runs away from dying but into death will fall.

A shelter had been made for Abū Msulim in which he would sit when the troops engaged each other in order to watch the battle.[81] If he saw a gap on the right or the left flank, he would send word to its commander, saying, "There is disorder in your

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78. Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī was a governor of al-Mawṣil for Marwān II but eventually switched his allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. In 151 Abū Jaʿfar appointed him governor of Sind. Hishām's refusal to recognize and admit Marwān II after his defeat by the ʿAbbāsids is recounted by Ṭabarī, III, 47, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 133. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 279 (for Sind; he does not list him among the governors of al-Mawṣil); Crone, *Slaves*, 167–68.

79. For the use of *dawlah* to denote "the motion of history and changes of political fortune," see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 19–27. Similarly, Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 185, defines the term as "the divinely granted turn in power."

80. Cf. Qurʾān 7:128, "the outcome is to the godfearing (*wa-al-ʿāqibah lil-muttaqīn*)."

81. In Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 387, Abū Muslim watches "the thick of the fight (*al-ḥawmah*)."

sector. Watch out lest your sector be the point where they break through our line![82] Do thus and so; advance your cavalry here, or move it back there to such and such a place." His runners carried his counsel back and forth to the commanders at such a pace that they were at each other's heels.

Hishām said: On Tuesday or Wednesday, the 7th of Jumādā II in the year 136 or 137, the armies came together and fought fiercely.[83] When Abū Muslim saw what was happening, he tricked the Syrians. He sent word to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, commander of the right flank, "Strip the right flank; combine most of it with the left, but let your elite defense forces and bravest fighters stay on the right." When the Syrians saw that maneuver, they stripped their left flank, joining its forces to their right flank, which stood face-to-face with the left flank of Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim then
[98] sent word to al-Ḥasan, "Order the center forces, together with those who remain on the right flank, to attack the left flank of the Syrians." The Khurāsānīs did so and shattered the Syrian left flank, leaving the Syrian central and right flanks in disarray.

The Khurāsānīs bore down upon the Syrians with such force that it was a complete rout.[84] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī said to Ibn Surāqah al-Azdī, who was with him, "Well what do you think, Ibn Surāqah?" He answered, "By God, I think that you must stand fast and fight to the death. To flee would be abhorrent to one such as you. Earlier you denounced Marwān for it, saying, 'God shame Marwān! He was so fearful of dying that he fled.' " ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī then said, "I will go to Iraq," while Ibn Surāqah replied, "I will be with you." Thus were ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his close associates put to flight. They abandoned their camp, and Abū Muslim took control of it.[85] He wrote to Abū Jaʿfar to tell

82. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 478, *fa-ittaqi allā nu'tā min qibalika*. Cf. the Leiden edition, *allā tu'tā min qibalika*.

83. Thursday, November 28, 137. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 106. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 467, who gives both Tuesday and Wednesday of 136, and Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 387, who gives only Wednesday of 137.

84. For the effect of this victory upon the status of the Khurāsānī army, see Sharon, "Military Reforms," 132. According to *Chronicon Anonymum*, 168, the Syrian defeat was marked by a falling star.

85. According to Sourdel, "Syrie," 170, Abū Muslim seized ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's treasure at al-Raqqah and al-Ruṣāfah, not Naṣībīn.

him that. Abū Ja'far sent Abū al-Khaṣīb,[86] his *mawlā*, to calculate what they had acquired with the camp of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī.[87] This made Abū Muslim furious.

'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī proceeded on their way. 'Abd al-Ṣamad got to al-Kūfah, where 'Īsā b. Mūsā requested a guarantee of safe-conduct for him, which Abū Ja'far ratified. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī went to Sulaymān b. 'Alī in al-Baṣrah and stayed with him. Abū Muslim granted a general amnesty to the Syrian army without killing anyone and commanded that they be left alone.

Another source states that it was Ismā'īl b. 'Alī[88] who requested indemnity for 'Abd al-Ṣamad. One report is that, when 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī was defeated, he and his brother 'Abd al-Ṣamad fled to al-Ruṣāfah of Hishām. 'Abd al-Ṣamad stayed there until the cavalry of al-Manṣūr, under the command of Jahwar b. Marrār al-'Ijlī,[89] reached him. He seized 'Abd al-Ṣamad and sent him, bound, to al-Manṣūr in the custody of Abū al-Khaṣīb, the caliph's *mawlā*. When 'Abd al-Ṣamad came before al-Manṣūr, the caliph ordered him to be turned over to 'Īsā b. Mūsā. 'Īsā, however, granted him indemnity and released him. He treated him most generously, presenting him with gifts and fine clothes. 'Abdallāh

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86. Abū al-Khaṣīb Marzūq was a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) for Abū Ja'far and his appointee as governor of Ṭabaristān. Ṭabarī, III, 112; Crone, *Slaves*, 190; Rabino di Borgomale, "Préfets du Califat," 247–48.

87. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439, mentions as auditors, in addition to Abū al-Khaṣīb, the names of Isḥāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī, Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā, and Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Naṣībī al-Taghlibī. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 219, and Azdī's *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164, mention Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā.

88. Abū al-Ḥasan Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (d. 147/764), another brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and thus also a paternal uncle to Abū al-'Abbās and Abū Ja'far, was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil in 133 and charged with responsibility for the Pilgrimage season in 137. Ṭabarī, III, 73, 75, 121. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IX, 156, refers to him as governor of al-Baṣrah, perhaps drawing upon Ṭabarī's mention in the events of the year 143. While Abū al-Ḥasan was governor of Wāsiṭ, al-Manṣūr convinced him to change his allegiance from 'Īsā b. Mūsā as caliph-designate to al-Manṣūr's son, Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 256.

89. Jahwar b. Marrār al-'Ijlī, from an Arab tribe to which Abū Muslim is thought to have been attached as a slave, served as Abū Ja'far's chief of police during the battle for Wāsiṭ in 132 but is most noted for his campaign against Sunbadh, which will be detailed in the closing pages of this chapter. Ṭabarī, III, 64–65; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 64; *EI²*, s.v. Abū Muslim (S. Moscati) and s.v. 'Idjl (W. Montgomery Watt).

b. ʿAlī, however, stayed but one night in al-Ruṣāfah. At nightfall
[99] on the following day he set off with his officers and *mawlās* to go to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī in al-Baṣrah. At that time Sulaymān was the governor of al-Baṣrah. He gave lodging to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his confederates and treated them generously.[90] They stayed with him in hiding for a while.[91]

In this year Abū Muslim was killed.

An Account of Abū Muslim's Murder and the Reason for It

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[92]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Salamah b. Muḥārib,[93] also Muslim b. al-Mughīrah,[94] Saʿīd b. Aws,[95] Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī,[96] al-Nuʿmān Abū al-Sarī,[97] Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm,[98]

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90. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's eventual arrest and detention are detailed under the year 139.

91. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum,* I, 219; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh,* II, 441; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae,* II, 439; and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil,* 137.

92. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasāʾī (d. 279/892), one of al-Ṭabarī's teachers, was a traditionist (*muḥaddith*), historian, and jurist, and himself a student of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* VI, 376–77; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam,* I, 227; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām,* I, 128; *GAL,* S I, 272; *GAS,* I, 319–20; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm,* II, 1134, where his death date is listed as 848–49; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 110.

93. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda,* p. DCCXXVII, where the name is emended to Maslamah. Maslamah b. Muḥārib b. Salm b. Ziyād (d. between 148/765 and 168/785), a great-grandson of Ziyād b. Abīhi, the noted governor of Iraq under Muʿāwiyah, was a Baṣran historian and source for al-Madāʾinī whom Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya,* 92, 128, lists as "pro-Umayyad." Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 117.

94. In Ṭabarī his reports are always transmitted through Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī.

95. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī Saʿīd b. Aws b. Thābit (d. 215/830–31) was a Baṣran historian, grammarian, and littérateur. His grandfather, Abū Zayd Thābit b. Zayd b. al-Nuʿmān, was one of those charged with the collection of the Qurʾān during the lifetime of the Prophet. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* XV, 200–2; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm,* I, 62; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* IX, 494–96; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* II, 378–80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* IV, 4–5; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography,* 504 (listed with the historians in al-Sakhāwī's *Iʿlān*).

96. He has previously, in Ṭabarī, II, 1996, and III, 24, served as a source for information about Abū Muslim, and later, in Ṭabarī, III, 102, appears as a guard for the treasure that Abū Muslim captured from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.

97. Cited by Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung", 130, as al-Nuʿmān Abū Sarī al-Marwadhī al-Khurāsānī.

98. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm al-Jūbānī was one of the ʿAbbāsid *duʿāt* from Marw. Ṭabarī, III, 1955; *Akhbār al-dawlah,* 218.

and others: In the year 136 Abū Muslim wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās, asking his permission to perform the Pilgrimage. As he was simply intending to perform the prayer ritual with the people, Abū al-ʿAbbās granted his request. Subsequently, Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, who was then governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia, and Ādharbayjān:[99] "Abū Muslim has written to me seeking my permission to make the Pilgrimage. I have given him my consent, but the thought has occurred to me that when he arrives he may ask me to appoint him the leader of the Pilgrimage. Write to me and ask my permission to perform the Pilgrimage, because when you are in Mecca he could not expect to take precedence over you." Accordingly, Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās, seeking his consent to perform the Pilgrimage, which the latter granted, and Abū Jaʿfar went to al-Anbār. At this Abū Muslim came before the caliph and said, "Could Abū Jaʿfar find no other year to make the Pilgrimage than this one?" and he carried a grudge against Abū Jaʿfar in his heart.

According to ʿAlī—Muslim b. al-Mughīrah: In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah as his deputy in Armenia. (Another source said that he installed his foster brother Yaḥyā b. Muslim b. ʿUrwah,[100] who was a black *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids.) Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim left for Mecca, but wherever he stopped, Abū Muslim would fill the needs of supplicants,[101] giving garments to the desert Arabs and bestowing largesse upon whoever petitioned him. He outfitted them with head wraps (*butūt*) and cloaks (*malāḥif*);[102] he dug wells and leveled road surfaces. He became celebrated, with the desert Arabs exclaiming, "This man has been lied about!" Eventually he reached [100]
Mecca and, upon seeing the Yemenite[103] forces there, Abū Muslim

99. Ādharbayjān was a mountainous northern province bordering the Caspian Sea that currently lies substantially in Iran. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 159–71.

100. According to Goitein, *Studies*, 180, Yaḥyā and Abū Jaʿfar had been suckled by the same woman, thus creating a "milk relationship" between them. See also his "Origin of the Vizierate."

101. Translation follows the Leiden variant reading, *al-ʿufāt*.

102. A *batt* is a head wrapping made of coarse cloth, while a *milḥafah* is a rough bedouin cloak. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 54, 401; *EI*², s.v. Libās (Y. K. Stillman et al.)

103. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 468. The Yemen was a province in the southwestern segment of the Arabian peninsula with coastlines along both the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yaman (A. Grohmann). For an analysis of the

slapped his thigh and exclaimed to Nayzak,[104] "O Nayzak, what an army this could be were a sharp-tongued man—but one quick to tears[105]—to take them in hand!"

To return to the account of the primary authorities: When the people emerged from the observance of the Pilgrimage, Abū Muslim hurried off ahead of Abū Jaʿfar. When word of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death and Abū Jaʿfar's appointment as his successor reached him, Abū Muslim wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, condoling with him for the death of the Commander of the Faithful but not congratulating him on his becoming caliph. He neither stayed put so that Abū Jaʿfar could catch up with him nor did he go back. Enraged, Abū Jaʿfar said to Abū Ayyūb,[106] "Write Abū Muslim a harsh letter." When Abū Muslim received Abū Jaʿfar's letter, he responded with congratulations on his accession to the caliphate. Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī[107] said to Abū Jaʿfar, "I dislike the thought that you might join up with Abū Muslim on the way. The people are his men, completely obedient to him, and they hold him in the highest awe, while no one is aligned with you." Abū Jaʿfar took Yazīd's advice and lagged behind while Abū Muslim went ahead. Abū Jaʿfar then commanded his forces to advance and gather all together. Their weapons were collected [i.e., for a tally], but there were only six coats of mail in his whole force. Abū Muslim went on to al-Anbār and invited ʿĪsā b. Mūsā

religious and messianic connotations of "yamānī," see Bashear, "Yemen in Early Islam."

104. Persian for "javelin" or "spear." Ṭabarī, *Indices*, lists him simply as one of Abū Muslim's army commanders. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 221 n. *a*, cites him as a leader (*ṣāḥib*) in Rayy, while Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 61, 64, identifies him as "a leading eastern Iranian noble" and one of Abū Muslim's closest advisers. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 229, offers a *kunyah* of Abū Naṣr.

105. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 468, for *ghazīr al-damʿah*.

106. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān Makhlad al-Mūriyānī al-Khūzī (d. 154/770–71) was secretary-vizier under al-Manṣūr after Khālid b. Barmak. He fell out of favor for various misdeeds and died in prison. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 78–87; Goitein, *Studies*, 175–77; *EI²*, s.v. al-Mūriyānī (C. E. Bosworth); Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 97–102; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 410–14; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 375–76; Goitein, "Origin of the Vizierate," 260–62.

107. Yazīd b. Usayd b. Ẓāfir al-Sulamī served as governor of Armenia, of al-Mawṣil, and of the Jazīrah. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 217; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 265; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 322, notes the spelling of his name as "Usayd," but Crone, *Slaves*, 165, refers to him as Yazīd b. Asīd.

so that he might render his oath of allegiance to him, but ʿĪsā refused.[108] Abū Jaʿfar arrived and encamped at al-Kūfah, where he learned that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had renounced his fealty. He returned therefore to al-Anbār, summoned Abū Muslim, commissioned him, and said, "Set out for Ibn ʿAlī." Abū Muslim, however, responded, "Arrest ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[109] and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham,[110] for they have been denouncing me." Abū Jaʿfar retorted, "ʿAbd al-Jabbār commands my police units, the same responsibility he had formerly discharged for Abū al- [101] ʿAbbās. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham is the Commander of the Faithful's [i.e., Abū al-ʿAbbās] foster brother. I am not about to arrest them merely because of your suspicion of them." Abū Muslim then said, "I see that those two have greater favor with you than I." Abū Jaʿfar became angry, so Abū Muslim apologized, saying, "I didn't mean all this."

According to ʿAlī—Muslim b. al-Mughīrah: I was with al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah in Armenia. When Abū Muslim was dispatched to Syria, Abū Jaʿfar wrote to al-Ḥasan that he should join Abū Muslim and march with him. We reached Abū Muslim at al-Mawṣil, where he stayed for a few days. When Abū Muslim was about to move on, I said to al-Ḥasan, "You and your forces are moving into battle;[111] you have no need of me. What if you were to allow me to go on to Iraq and stay there until, God willing, you turn up?" Al-Ḥasan said, "All right, but inform me when you are about to leave," to which I agreed. When I had finished my preparations, I informed him and said, "I have come to bid you farewell." Al-Ḥasan replied, "Wait for me by the gate until I come out to you." I went out and stopped there until he came out and said,

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108. This translation follows Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, which corrects the text's *fa-atā* to *fa-abā*. See Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 167, 175; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 94.

109. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī was an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* and revolutionary general who served as head of the *shurṭah* for al-Saffāḥ and al-Mansūr. The latter named him governor of Khurāsān in 140/757–58. For the caliph's treatment of his defection, see under the year 141 below. Ṭabarī, III, 76, 100; *EI*², s.v. (S. Moscati); Crone, *Slaves*, 173.

110. Abū Ghassān Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham was a *mawlā* of Abū al-ʿAbbās and, according to *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 215, his chamberlain. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Crone, *Slaves*, 194. Ṭabarī, II, 840, gives him as the *mawlā* of Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās, the caliph's niece.

111. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII.

"I want to pass something on to you so that you can report it to Abū Ayyūb. Were it not for my confidence in you, again I would not give you this information. Moreover, were it not for your standing with Abū Ayyūb, I would not tell you this. Inform Abū Ayyūb that, since my arrival here, I have developed grave doubts about Abū Muslim. When he receives a letter from the Commander of the Faithful and reads it, he turns down the corner of his mouth and tosses the letter to Abū Naṣr.[112] The latter reads it, and the two of them laugh derisively." I said, "Yes, I understand." Subsequently I met with Abū Ayyūb, thinking that I had brought him news of some consequence. He just laughed and said, "We are more suspicious of Abū Muslim than of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, but we place our hope in one thing. We know that the Khurāsānī troops do not like ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī because he killed some of them." (At the time when he renounced his fealty, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī feared the Khurāsānīs. Thus he killed 17,000 of them by an
[102] order to his prefect of police, Ḥayyāsh b. Ḥabīb.)

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: Abū Muslim fought ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, put him to flight, and gathered up everything he had in his camp into an enclosed compound. Abū Muslim acquired various assets, household goods, and many jewels, all of it scattered at random in this confine. He put one of his commanders in charge of the compound and its safekeeping. I was in this man's unit, and he set us to guard it in shifts.[113] When anyone left the enclosure, he would search him. One day some of my colleagues came out of the compound, but I stayed behind. The commander asked them, "What's Abū Ḥafṣ doing?" They responded that he was in the enclosure. He then came and looked over the gate. I sensed his presence and slipped off my shoes while he was looking. I then shook out my shoes, and, while he was still looking, I shook out my trousers (*sarāwīl*) and sleeves. As he continued to watch, I put on my shoes [again]. Then he went to sit down in his [usual] seat, and I came out. He asked me what had kept me, but I told him that everything was all right, so he left me alone but said, "I saw what you did, but why did you do it?" I answered, "Pearls and dirham coins are scattered in the compound, and we were slipping and sliding all over them. I was afraid that

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112. Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī.

113. *Fa-jaʿalahā nawāʾiba baynanā*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nāba*.

some of them had gotten into my shoes, so I pulled off my shoes and socks." That pleased him, and he told me to go on my way. So I continued to enter the compound together with the guard, taking some of those dirhams and fine fabrics, and putting some in my shoes and binding some around my middle. My colleagues would go out and be searched, but not me. I kept doing this until I had collected a fair-sized hoard, but I never touched the pearls.

To return to the account of those on whose authority ʿAlī related the story of Abū Muslim in the first place: After ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had been put to flight, Abū Jaʿfar sent Abū al-Khaṣīb to record for the caliph[114] what Abū Muslim had acquired in the way of booty. Abū Muslim reproached[115] Abū al-Khaṣīb and [103]
planned to kill him. But there was intercession on his behalf, and people said, "He's only a messenger; let him go." Accordingly, Abū al-Khaṣīb went back to Abū Jaʿfar. The officers then approached Abū Muslim to say: "We have dealt with the matter of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and pillaged his camp. Why is there interrogation about what's in our hands? The Commander of the Faithful is only entitled to his fifth of the booty."[116] When Abū al-Khaṣīb reached Abū Jaʿfar, he told the caliph that Abū Muslim had intended to kill him. Abū Jaʿfar feared that Abū Muslim would go back to Khurāsān, so via Yaqṭīn[117] he wrote him a letter stating, "I have placed you in charge of Egypt and Syria, which is better for you than Khurāsān. Send to Egypt whomever you like and take up residence in Syria. You will then be close to the Commander of the Faithful. If he wants a meeting with you, you can come to him from nearby." When he received the letter, Abū Muslim became angry and said, "He is appointing me governor of

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114. The Leiden editor notes that for the next several pages the Algiers manuscript lacks folios.

115. *Iftarā*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *farā*.

116. The text follows the Qurʾānic orthography with *al-khumus*. Qurʾān, 8:41, is the textual locus for division of the spoils of battle into five parts, four for the combatants and one for the sovereign. For Ṭabarī's exegesis of this verse, see *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, XIII, 545–63.

117. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā al-Abzārī (d. 186/802) had been one of the leaders of the ʿAbbāsid *duʿāt* in al-Kūfah. For his avoidance of the abortive revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740, see *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 231. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164 n. 4; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 166; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 207; Dodge, *Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm*, II, 1126 (where the name is given as Yāqṭīn). For his connection with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, see Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 83 n. 109.

Syria and Egypt, but Khurāsān is mine." He was determined to go back there, so Yaqṭīn wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about that.[118]

Other accounts say that when Abū Muslim seized possession of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's camp, al-Manṣūr sent Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā (whom Abū Muslim was wont to call "Yak Dīn")[119] with the order to calculate what the camp contained. At this, Abū Muslim exclaimed, "O Yaqṭīn, am I [thought] trustworthy in matters of bloodshed but unreliable in matters of property!"[120] He vilified Abū Jaʿfar, which Yaqṭīn reported to him. Abū Muslim had come from the Jazīrah resolved to defy [the caliph's command] and in resistance turned off the route [to al-Anbār], promptly making for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar left al-Anbār for al-Madāʾin[121] and wrote to Abū Muslim to come to him. From his encampment at the river Zāb[122] on the return route by way of Ḥulwān,[123] Abū Muslim wrote:[124]

> For the Commander of the Faithful, may God be gracious to him, there remains no foe of whom God has not given him the better. We would recount the saying of the Sāsānid kings, "Viziers are most fearful when the mob is
> [104] quiet."[125] We shy away from being near you, yet want to fulfill our obligations to you, so long as you reciprocate,

118. *Wa-iʿtazama bi-al-muḍīy*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿazama*.

119. As a Persian expression, this can mean "one religion" or "one debt," but the significance remains ambiguous.

120. The translation follows Ibn al-Athīr's wording, *Kāmil*, V, 469: *ana amīnun ʿalā dimāʾ*. See also *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 219, and Yaqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439.

121. Al-Madāʾin, "the cities," including Ctesiphon, Aspānbur, and al-Rūmiyyah (see note 130), lay on both sides of the Tigris about thirty kilometers southeast of Baghdad. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and M. Morony); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 74–75; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 30; Le Strange, *Lands*, 33–35.

122. The Zāb was a tributary of the Tigris and site of the decisive ʿAbbāsid battle against Marwān II. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 123–24; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 24; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

123. Ḥulwān lay in the foothills of the Zagros mountains about 180 kilometers northeast of Sāmarrāʾ on the main road to Khurāsān. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 290–93; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191–92; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 198, 201.

124. See also Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 111.

125. Frye, "ʿAbbāsid Revolt," 29, cites this statement as an indication that Abū Muslim was conversant with Middle Persian literature.

apt to heed and obey, though from afar, where safety is yoked to that obedience. If that satisfies you, I shall be like the finest of your servants, but if you insist that your own will prevail, then I must renounce my pledged loyalty to you in due consideration of myself.

When the letter reached al-Manṣūr, he wrote to Abū Muslim:

I have understood your letter, but your character is not that of those viziers who connived against their kings, wishing to disturb the bonds of authority because of the multitude of their misdeeds. Their comfort lay only in disruption of the social order. Why do you equate yourself with them when you are as you are, in your obedience, in your faithful counsel, and in your assumption of the burdens of this affair [of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī], which you have borne so well? In the obligation that you are [now] taking upon yourself, however, there is neither heeding nor obeying. The Commander of the Faithful has charged ʿĪsā b. Mūsā with a letter for you, by which you may be reassured, if you pay heed to it. I beg God to intervene between you and Satan with his evil promptings, for he has judged he could find no more certain way by which to corrupt your right intention, or one more accessible to his sorcery (*ṭibb*),[126] than the door that he has opened to you.

Abū Jaʿfar [now] sent to Abū Muslim Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī,[127] a man unique among his contemporaries,[128] and he inveigled him into coming back. Abū Muslim used to remark, "By God, I will most certainly be killed in Rūm

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126. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 483 n. 3, offers *siḥr* as a synonym for *ṭibb*, which ordinarily connotes "medicine." The line between medicine and magic is frequently blurred in such classical sources as *ḥadīth* collections, e.g., the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and that of Bukhārī.

127. In 126 he was appointed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr's deputy governor for al-Baṣrah. Ṭabarī, II, 1837 (where his name is given as Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jarīr); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40; Crone, *Slaves*, 115. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 376; describes him as "charming and successful."

128. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 179, adds that he was "one of the shrewdest men of his era and a long-time acquaintance of Abū Muslim's."

(Byzantium)." (The astrologers repeatedly predicted that, too.)[129] In fact, he approached while al-Manṣūr was living in pavilions at al-Rūmiyyah.[130] The populace received him, and al-Manṣūr gave him hospitality, according him gracious treatment for several days.

[105] To return to the account of ʿAlī and his previously mentioned authorities: Abū Muslim wrote to Abū Jaʿfar:[131]

> I took as *imām*[132] and guide in what God has enjoined upon His creatures a man who lived in learning's quarter and to the Messenger of God was closely related.[133] However, he thought me ignorant of the Qurʾān and distorted its significations,[134] avid for what little God may relinquish to His creatures,[135] like one enticed by illusion. He commanded me to unsheathe the sword, to excise compassion, to accept no excuse, to overlook no mistake. Thus did I act to reinforce your authority until God made you known to those who had been ignorant of you. Then God rescued me by repentance. If He forgives me, that will be in accordance with His well-known and attributed practice as in former days, but if He punishes me for what

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129. For further on this prediction, see ibid., VI, 180; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 153; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 100; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 54.

130. Al-Rūmiyyah was one of the cities constituting al-Madāʾin (see note 121). Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 100–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34–35.

131. For an Italian translation of this letter, see Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 97.

132. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 132/749), known as Ibrāhīm al-Imām, was the half-brother of Abū Jaʿfar and patron of Abū Muslim. He succeeded his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, as titular head of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement. *EI*², s.v. (F. Omar). While the term *imām* carries the technical signification of leader of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), it acquired far greater theological import within developed Shīʿī thought.

133. The "Messenger" is the most frequent Qurʾānic title for Muḥammad. Ibrāhīm the Imām's great-great-grandfather was Muḥammad's uncle. For a succint explanation of the ʿAbbāsid claim of *qarābah* with Muḥammad, see Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 44.

134. *Wa-ḥarrafahu ʿan mawāḍiʿihi*, which echoes the Qurʾānic accusation in of 4:46, 5:13, 41. Abū Muslim is here accusing his former *imām* of the charge of scriptural distortion (*taḥrīf*), an accusation that is normally laid against Jews and Christians.

135. *Fī qalīlin qad taʿāfahu allāhu ilā khalqihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *afā*; Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2095.

> my hands have done, God is not unjust to His servants
> [i.e., even that would be an instance of God's justice].[136]

Abū Muslim marched out, heading for Khurāsān and feeling hostility and opposition. When he entered Iraqī territory, al-Manṣūr left al-Anbār and moved forward, settling at al-Madā'in. Thereupon Abū Muslim took the road to Ḥulwān, saying, "There's many a matter for God this side of Ḥulwān!" Abū Ja'far told 'Īsā b. 'Alī,[137] 'Īsā b. Mūsā, and those of the Banū Hāshim[138] who accompanied him to write to Abū Muslim. They did so, extolling his accomplishments, thanking him for all he had done, asking him to continue in his course, enjoining him to obedience, and warning him of the punishment for perfidy. They further ordered him to return to the Commander of the Faithful and to seek his good will. Abū Ja'far sent the letter with Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī and said to him, "Speak to Abū Muslim with the utmost courtesy you would show anyone. Awaken hope in him, and let him know that I shall exalt his station and treat him as no one else has ever done if he mends his ways and respects my wishes once more. If he refuses to return, then say to him, 'The [106]
commander of the Faithful says to you, "I am not of al-'Abbās, and I have nothing to do with Muḥammad if, after your having left in a state of opposition and not come back to me, I should hand over your affair to someone else and not make every effort to seek you out and fight you myself. Were you to plunge into the sea, I would dive in too. Were you to rush into fire, I would charge in too, until I had killed you or died trying." ' But by no means make this statement to him until you despair of his returning and cannot hope for anything better from him."

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136. The authenticity of this letter has been the subject of considerable debate. Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 97–98, cites the principal lines of argumentation.

137. 'Īsā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (d. 164/780), an uncle of the first two 'Abbāsid caliphs, twice served as governor of Fārs and is remembered as a scholar and an ascetic. His name was given to the deep canal, Nahr 'Īsā, which marked the southern limits of Baghdad. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 409–10; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, V, 105; *EI*², s.v. 'Īsā, Nahr (J. Lassner); Lassner, *Topography*, 144–45; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 46.

138. An 'Abbāsid form of self-reference denoting a lineage relation with the prophet Muḥammad, either remotely through his great-grandfather Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, or proximately through his cousin's grandson Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.

Accordingly, Abū Ḥumayd set forth at the head of his most trustworthy associates, and they eventually reached Abū Muslim at Ḥulwān. Abū Ḥumayd, Abū Mālik, and others entered and presented the letter to him. Abū Ḥumayd said to Abū Muslim, "Out of envy and spite, people are misrepresenting to you what the Commander of the Faithful says and thinks of you, with the intent to disrupt and deflect the good will he has toward you. Do not spoil what you have; talk to him." Then he went on to say, "O Abū Muslim, surely you remain a trusted agent of the family of Muḥammad,[139] as the people recognize. The heavenly recompense God has stored away to reward you for that is greater than all your earthly gain. Do not nullify your reward. Let Satan never tempt you!" Abū Muslim said to him, "Since when do you presume to speak to me like this?" He answered, "You are the one who summoned us to this cause and to obedience to the family of the house of the Prophet, the Banū al-ʿAbbās. You commanded us to fight those who opposed that. You called us from various lands and from diverse circumstances. God has drawn us together in obedience to them, united our hearts in love for them, and fortified us in our support for them. Among them we have never encountered anyone except with these God-given sentiments in our hearts, and so we have now come to them in their land with our sights rendered sharp and our obedience unclouded. Do you really intend, at the time when we have reached the culmination of our wishes and the consummation of our hope, to destroy our situation and to dissipate our authority? You were the one who said to
[107] us, 'Kill whoever opposes you. If I oppose you then kill me!' " Abū Muslim then turned to Abū Naṣr [Mālik b. Haytham] and said, "O Mālik, do you not hear what this fellow is saying to me? This is not his own utterance, Mālik [i.e., he speaks for the caliph]." Abū Naṣr replied, "Don't listen to what he is saying; such talk from him should certainly not alarm you. Upon my life, you rightly said that this is not his speech, but what may follow will be worse. Carry on with your own affair and do not return. By God, if you go to Abū Jaʿfar, he will most certainly kill you. Something has entered his mind such that he will never trust

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139. For *amīn āl Muḥammad* as a title accorded to Abū Muslim, see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 199.

you."[140] Abū Muslim told his confederates to rise up, which they did. Then he sent for Nayzak and said, "By God, Nayzak, it's been a long time since I've seen anyone more sensible than you.[141] What do you think now that these letters have come and people have had their say?" Nayzak replied, "I don't think you should go to him. I think that you should go to al-Rayy[142] and stay there. The whole region between Khurāsān and al-Rayy falls to you. They are your forces, not one of whom opposes you. If he is being straight with you, then you can be straight with him. But if he refuses, then you are with your own army, Khurāsān is behind you, and you can follow your own judgment."[143] So Abū Muslim summoned Abū Ḥumayd and said, "Go back to your master; I have decided not to come to him." Abū Ḥumayd asked, "Have you really resolved to go against him?" to which Abū Muslim said, "Yes." "Don't do it," replied Abū Ḥumayd, but Abū Muslim answered, "I do not want to meet with him." Having abandoned all hope that Abū Muslim would return, Abū Ḥumayd said to him what Abū Jaʿfar had ordered him to say. Abū Muslim was silent for a long time. Then he said, "Rise up and go," but that speech had disturbed and frightened him.

Now at the time when he began to have doubts about Abū Muslim, Abū Jaʿfar had written to Abū Dāwūd, Abū Muslim's deputy in Khurāsān, to the effect that "You shall have control of Khurāsān for as long as you live."[144] Abū Dāwūd then wrote to Abū Muslim, "We did not revolt [i.e., against the Umayyads] in order to disobey God's caliphs and the family of the house of His Prophet. Do not oppose your *imām*; return [to Khurāsān] only with his permission." Abū Dāwūd's letter reached Abū Muslim at this juncture, making him yet more alarmed and concerned.

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140. Masʿūdi, *Murūj*, VI, 180 credits Mālik with the exclamation: "I have been tempted by Iblīs but never by the like of this!"

141. *Mā raʾaytu ṭawīlan aʿqala minka*. Ṭabari, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭāla*.

142. Al-Rayy was a city that lay in the northeastern corner of the province of Jibāl, whose remains now fall within the southern suburbs of Tehran. *EI*[1], s.v. (V. Minorsky); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 119–22; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 43; Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–18; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 121–26.

143. This speech is repeated in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 221, with a slight rearrangement of clauses. See also Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 169; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 440; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 61–62; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115.

144. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 485, vocalizes this as "for as long as *I* live (*mā baqītu*)."

Thus Abū Muslim sent word to Abū Ḥumayd and Abū Mālik: "I had made up my mind to go on to Khurāsān, but then I decided to send Abū Isḥāq, in whom I have confidence, to the Commander of the Faithful, so that he can bring me his assessment [of the situation]." Abū Muslim dispatched Abū Isḥāq, and, when the latter
[108] arrived, the Banū Hāshim received him with everything he could wish. Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Make Abū Muslim change his mind and you shall have the governorship of Khurāsān," and he dismissed him. Abū Isḥāq returned to Abū Muslim and said to him, "I could not find fault with anything; I am of the opinion that they respect your rights highly, thinking as much of you as they do of themselves." He advised Abū Muslim to return to the Commander of the Faithful and apologize to him for what he had done. Abū Muslim made up his mind to do so, and Nayzak asked him, "Are you fully of a mind to return?" "Yes," said Abū Muslim and quoted:[145]

Men can do nothing against fate.
Fate makes away with people's scheming.

Nayzak said, "Since you have made up your mind to do this, may God prosper you. But keep in mind this one thing I tell you: When you enter the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, kill him. Then give the oath of allegiance to whomever you wish, for the troops will not oppose you." Abū Muslim then wrote to Abū Jaʿfar to inform him that he would be coming to meet him.

According to some sources—Abū Ayyūb: One day I came into the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, who was then residing in a hair tent[146] at al-Rūmiyyah, while he was seated on a prayer carpet following the afternoon prayer. Abū Muslim's letter lay before him. He tossed it to me, and I read it. Then he said, "By God, if I lay eyes on him, I will surely kill him." I said to myself, " 'To God we belong and to Him is our return' [i.e., that's as may be, but I hope not!]. I have pursued the scribal career, and now, when I have reached its pinnacle and become the caliph's scribe, this had to happen among the people![147] By God, if he were killed, I do not

145. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 220; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 473.
146. Sourdel, "Questions," 132, specifies this as "camel's hair."
147. Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 111, reads: "This mix-up [*takhlīṭ*] had to happen among the people."

think his confederates would accept his killing and would let this man here, and anyone associated with him, remain alive. So I was not able to sleep." Then I said to myself, "Maybe the man will arrive in a confident frame of mind. If so, perhaps he will achieve his wish. But if he arrives behaving warily, the caliph will have no possible recourse but to deal with him harshly. If only I could put my finger on a clever scheme!"[148] I sent for Salamah b. Saʿīd b. Jābir[149] and said to him. "Do you have a sense of gratitude?" He said that he did. I continued, "If I got you appointed governor of a place from which you would garner what the governor of Iraq gets, would you let my brother Ḥātim b. Abī Sulaymān[150] go in [109] with you?" He agreed to that. "Would you give him half the proceeds?" I asked, wanting him to remain avid and not refuse. He still agreed. I then said, "Last year Kaskar[151] yielded such and such, but this year will be many times more than last year's yield. If I turn it over to you for the same impost as last year or with the right of stewardship, you will gain wealth beyond your wildest dreams."[152] "How can such wealth be mine?" Salamah asked. "You should go to Abū Muslim, meet with him, and talk to him tomorrow," I replied. "Ask him to include, among the petitions he will present, one to the effect that you be appointed there with what it yielded last year. When he arrives, the Commander of the Faithful intends to make him responsible for matters lying beyond his own sphere,[153] so he should feel at ease and put his mind to rest." Salamah asked, "How can I get the Commander of the Faithful to give me permission to meet Abū Muslim?" I told him

148. For the vizier's stratagem, see ibid., 112, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 474.

149. Ṭabarī, III, 141, cites him as governor of the Euphrates district and al-Ubullah in 142.

150. Some sources say that Abū Sulaymān, the father of both Abū Ayyūb and Ḥātim, was the *mawlā* of the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–101/717–20). Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 375. While Ṭabarī, III, 370, notes that a brother was arrested in 153 along with Abū Ayyūb, his name is not given.

151. Kaskar was a fertile district centered around the Tigris city of Wāsiṭ. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and J. Lassner); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 461; Le Strange, *Lands*, 38–43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29.

152. *Fa-in dafaʿtuhā ilayka bi-qabālatihā ʿaman awwala aw bi-al-amānati.* The *qabālah* contract was a form of tax farming whereby an individual assured the central treasury of a particular sum and could then pocket the difference between that and the amount actually collected. *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳabāla (C. Cahen); Cahen, "Fiscalité," 136–52; Donner, "Islamic State," 292. For this meaning of *amānah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 39.

153. *Mā warāʾa bābihi.* Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 124.

that I would ask permission for him, and then I went to Abū Jaʿfar and told him the whole story. The caliph told me to call for Salamah, which I did. He said, "Abū Ayyūb has requested permission on your behalf; do you want to go and meet Abū Muslim?" "Yes," said Salamah. The caliph replied, "Then I grant you permission. Declare to Abū Muslim our salutation and inform him of our longing to see him." Salamah set off. He met Abū Muslim and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has the highest possible opinion of you." This cheered Abū Muslim, who had been in very low spirits before then. What Salamah said when he reached Abū Muslim made him overjoyed. He believed him and continued to be happy until he arrived.

Abū Ayyūb: When Abū Muslim drew near to al-Madāʾin, the Commander of the Faithful ordered the populace to go out and meet him.[154] He arrived in the evening. I entered the presence of the Commander of the Faithful while he was on a prayer mat in his tent and said, "This man is arriving later this evening; what do you intend to do?" Abū Jaʿfar said, "I intend to kill him as soon as I set eyes on him." "I adjure you by God," I said, "that his forces are entering [the city] along with him and they know what he has done. If he enters your presence but does not come out, I shall not feel safe from calamity. Rather, when he enters, give
[110] him permission to leave. When he comes to you tomorrow, you will have made your decision." I wanted only to defer the event with that speech, simply because of my fear, for him and for us all, of retaliation from Abū Muslim's comrades. Thus in the evening Abū Muslim came to Abū Jaʿfar and made salutation but remained standing before him. Abū Jaʿfar said, "Go away, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[155] and make yourself comfortable. Go and bathe, for travel is a dirty business. Then come to me in the morning." Abū Muslim departed and everybody dispersed. When he had gone, the Commander of the Faithful reproached me unfairly, "When

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154. The events immediately surrounding Abū Muslim's death are recounted in *Fragmenta historicorum*, II, 222–24; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 441–42; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 376–79, 440–41; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 111–12; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 165–66. See also Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 63–67; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 101–3; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115–17.

155. Abū Muslim's given name (*ism*) is recorded as either ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 48; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 145.

will I ever get a chance with him like this—standing on his two feet right before my eyes! I don't know what could happen tonight!" I left and returned in the morning. When he saw me, the caliph said, "You whoreson fellow,[156] no welcome for you! Yesterday you restrained me from him. By God, I did not sleep a wink all night." He reviled me so much that I feared that he would order me killed. Then he told me to summon ʿUthmān b. Nahīk,[157] which I did. Abū Jaʿfar said, "ʿUthmān, what do you think of the Commander of the Faithful's troubles?" "Commander of the Faithful," he replied, "I am merely your servant. By God, were you to order me to lean on my sword until it came out of my back, I would do so." Abū Jaʿfar said, "How would you take it if I were to command you to kill Abū Muslim?" For a while ʿUthmān was silent, not saying a word. Abū Ayyūb asked, "What's the matter; why aren't you saying anything?" His voice weak, ʿUthmān answered, "I would kill him."

Abū Jaʿfar said, "Hurry off and bring back four of the toughest officers of the guards." ʿUthmān set off, but when he got near the tent flap Abū Jaʿfar called out to him, "ʿUthmān, ʿUthmān, come back here." When he had come back in, the caliph said, "Sit down and send for the guards you trust; have four of them present themselves." ʿUthmān said to one of his servants, "Run and call Shabīb b. Wāj,[158] Abū Ḥanīfah,[159] and two others." They came in [111]
and the Commander of the Faithful repeated to them more or less

156. More specifically, *ibn al-lakhnā'* means "son of the uncircumcised woman" but carries the connotation of sexual promiscuity in the absence of clitoral excision. *EI*[2], s.v. Khafḍ (Ed.).

157. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk al-ʿAkkī, one of the seven *duʿāt* in the Khurāsānī city of Abīward and reckoned among the *naqīb* alternates (*nuẓarā' al-nuqabā'*), commanded Abū Jaʿfar's guard (*ḥaras*). *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218, 220; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 73–74 (transliterated as "Nuhayk"); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 377; Crone, *Slaves*, 189; Daniels, *Khurasan*, 48, 115.

158. Shabīb b. Wāj al-Marwarrūdhī served under the Khurāsānī general Khāzim b. Khuzaymah before entering the caliph's service. Daniel, drawing upon Ibn Nadīm, equates him with the Shabīb b. Rawāḥ, whom Abū Muslim sent to convert the Magian priest Bihāfarīd/Bih'āfrīd. Ṭabarī, II, 1960; Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 91; Dodge, *Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm*, II, 822.

159. Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays was appointed head of the guard for Mūsā b. al-Mahdī shortly after al-Mahdī's accession to the caliphate. In 171 he acted as Hārūn al-Rashīd's agent in the assassination of Abū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Furrūkh. Ṭabarī, III, 456, 606. For the symbolic use of four, see Rescher, "Zahl

what he had said to ʿUthmān, and they agreed to kill Abū Muslim. He said, "Station yourselves behind the tent flap; when I clap my hands, come out and kill him."

He sent one messenger after another to Abū Muslim. They returned to say that he had already mounted. A servant came to the caliph to say that he had gone to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. I said, "Commander of the Faithful, should I go out and make the rounds in the camp to see what people are saying, whether anyone has any suspicions or has said anything?" He agreed, so I left, but Abū Muslim ran into me as he was coming in. He smiled and I greeted him and he then went inside. I came back only to see him sprawled out before me; there had been no waiting for my return. Abū al-Jahm[160] came in and when he saw him slain said, "To God we belong and to Him is our return." I went up to Abū al-Jahm and said to him, "You ordered his murder as soon as he revolted, yet when he is killed you have this to say?" By speaking so I brought a distracted man back to alertness. He said something to make up for what had come from his mouth and then asked, "Commander of the Faithful, should I not keep people away?" "Most certainly!" said Abū Jaʿfar, and Abū al-Jahm added, "Order fittings to be taken to another one of these pavilions of yours." He commanded carpets brought out as though he intended to prepare another pavilion for Abū Muslim. Abū al-Jahm then went out and said to the crowd, "Go away now; the Amīr wants to take his repose with the Commander of the Faithful." They saw the furnishings being transported and, assuming Abū al-Jahm to be telling the truth, they turned away. Then in the evening they came, and Abū Jaʿfar ordered rewards paid to them [i.e. Abū Muslim's army commanders]. He gave Abū Isḥāq 100,000 [dirhams].

Abū Ayyūb: The Commander of the Faithful said to me, "Abū Muslim came in, and I reproved and even reviled him. ʿUthmān struck him but it did nothing. Shabīb b. Wāj and his comrades came out and beat him, and he fell down. While they were beat-

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Vierzig." More recently, Conrad, "Conquest of Arwād," 355, has discussed "the notion of a graded élite of righteous warriors for the cause of God, as symbolized in the number four and its multiples by ten."

160. Abū Jahm b. ʿAṭīyah. See Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 112.

ing him, he yelled "Pardon!" "Son of a whore," I said, "Pardon? When swords have finally beaten you by turns!" Then I said, "Butcher him" and they did so.[161]

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: I was with Abū Muslim when Abū Isḥāq came to him from Abū Jaʿfar with letters from [112] the Banū Hāshim and said, "I disagree with you about the people's attitude. They all think of you as due just what the caliph is due, and they recognize how mindful God has been of them by giving you [to them as a leader]." Abū Muslim went on to al-Madāʾin but left Abū Naṣr in charge of his baggage train, saying, "Stay here until a letter from me reaches you." "Arrange a sign between us," said Abū Naṣr, "by which I can recognize that the letter is from you." He replied, "If my letter reaches you sealed with half an impression, then I have written it. But if it reaches you with the whole signet, then I have neither written nor sealed it." When Abū Muslim drew near al-Madāʾin, one of his army commanders met him, greeted him, and said to him, "Do what I say and go back; if the caliph lays eyes on you, he is going to kill you!" Abū Muslim replied, "I have now drawn near the people, and I am reluctant to turn back." He arrived in al-Madāʾin at the head of 3,000 men but left the bulk of his host behind in Ḥulwān. He presented himself before Abū Jaʿfar, and the caliph ordered him to withdraw for that day. He tried to see him in the morning, but Abū al-Khaṣīb met him and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is busy, be patient for a bit until you can enter alone." He went to where ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was lodged—he was fond of ʿĪsā—and ʿĪsā invited him to break his fast with him. The Commander of the Faithful told Rabīʿ,[162] who at that time was a servant in the employ of Abū al-Khaṣīb, "Go and see Abū Muslim but don't let anyone know. Say to him, 'Marzūq [Abū al-Khaṣīb] says if you want to see the Commander of the Faithful in private, then hurry.' " Abū Muslim stood and mounted up. ʿĪsā said to him,

161. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 118, where the caliph is asserted to have "killed him with his own hands."

162. Abū Faḍl al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah (d. 170/786–87), who served each of the first four ʿAbbāsid caliphs, was first chamberlain and then vizier under Abū Jaʿfar. *EI*², s.v. (A. S. Atiya); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, 87–90; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123–24; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 84–85; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 335–36; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 294–99.

"Don't be in a hurry to enter until I can be there to go in with you." ʿĪsā, however, lingered over his ablutions,[163] and Abū Muslim went ahead and entered. Thus he was killed before ʿĪsā arrived. ʿĪsā came after Abū Muslim was wrapped in a cloak[164] and said, "Where is Abū Muslim?" When Abū Jaʿfar responded that he was wrapped in the cloak,[165] ʿĪsā exclaimed, "To God we belong—" but the Caliph said, "Be silent! Your authority and status were achieved only today." Then he had Abū Muslim thrown into the Tigris.

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ: The Commander of the Faithful
[113] summoned ʿUthmān b. Nahīk and four of the guards and said to them, "When I clap my hands, one against the other, then strike the enemy of God." Abū Muslim came into his presence, and Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Tell me about two blades that you acquired with the goods of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī." Abū Muslim responded, "This is one of the two, which I'm wearing." "Show it to me," said Abū Jaʿfar, so Abū Muslim unsheathed and handed it over. Abū Jaʿfar brandished the sword and then laid it under his cushion. He began to reprimand Abū Muslim, saying, "Tell me about your letter to Abū al-ʿAbbās where you forbid him to take unoccupied land (*mawāt*).[166] Did you want to teach us our religious duty!" Abū Muslim said, "I thought taking it was illicit, but he wrote to me and when his letter reached me I recognized that the Commander of the Faithful and his lineage are the mother lode of knowledge." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Tell me why you went ahead of me on the road [from Mecca]." Abū Muslim replied, "I didn't think it would be good for our people to all be together at the same watering place, so I went on ahead in order to seek comfort [for all

163. The term used, *al-wuḍūʾ*, is that which acquired the technical connotation of the prescribed washings for minor impurities done immediately before the ritual prayer.

164. The *ʿabāʾah*, a common bedouin garment, was a short, sleeveless cloak. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 44–45; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 292–97.

165. The *kisāʾ* was a large outer garment that doubled as a wrap or blanket. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 44; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 383–86.

166. *Mawāt* connotes "dead land," i.e., land that has never been cultivated or that has been allowed to lie fallow. The schools of Islamic jurisprudence disagree about how the reclamation of such land can constitute a legitimate claim to ownership. *EI*², s.v. (A. -M. Delcambre). For the broader issue of the acquisition of landed property in the conquered territories, see Kister, "Land Property and Jihād."

without crowding]." Abū Jaʿfar said, "At the time you learned of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death, what about your remark to the one who suggested that you should return to me: 'We will move forward and see whomever we see.' You went on, neither staying put so that we could catch up with you nor returning to us." Abū Muslim responded, "I was prevented from doing so because, as I have told you, I had to look out for the necessary comforts of my people. I said we should go ahead to al-Kūfah; that could not be considered opposition on my part." Abū Jaʿfar said, "As for the slave girl of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, did you intend to take her as your own?" Abū Muslim replied, "No, but I feared she would get lost, so I transported her in an enclosed litter, entrusting her care to someone who could protect her." Abū Jaʿfar asked, "What about your defiance of orders and your heading back to Khurāsān?" Abū Muslim responded, "I was afraid that I might in some way have offended you, so I told myself that I would return to Khurāsān and write to you with my apologies, to await that time when what was in your mind against me had departed." Abū Jaʿfar said, "By God, I have never seen a day like today. I swear you do nothing but increase my anger." He clapped his hands, and ʿUthmān came [114]
out of concealment with his comrades to attack Abū Muslim and struck him until they had killed him.

According to ʿAlī—Yazīd b. Usayd: The Commander of the Faithful said, "I reproached ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, saying, 'What about the booty that you collected in Ḥarrān?' He said, 'I disbursed it and gave it to the army for their seed and land reclamation,'[167] I said, 'What about your recalcitrant return to Khurāsān?' Abū Muslim said, 'Stop this interrogation! I am not about to fear anyone but God.' I became angry and heaped abuse upon him. Then the guards came in and killed him."

Other sources than those I have already cited report as follows on the matter of Abū Muslim: On the day he was killed, having been summoned, Abū Muslim went and asked ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to ride along with him. ʿĪsā, however, said to him, "Go on ahead, as you are under my protection." Abū Muslim entered Abū Jaʿfar's pavilion when the latter had already ordered ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, the captain of his guards, to prepare Shabīb b. Wāj al-Marwar-

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167. *Wa-aʿṭaytuhu al-junda taqwiyatan lahum wa-istiṣlāḥan.*

rūdhī, one of the guards, and Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays for the deed. "When I clap my hands," Abū Jaʿfar told them, "go to it." He then gave permission for Abū Muslim to enter. When Abū Muslim asked Muḥammad, the Bukhārī gatekeeper,[168] how things stood, Muḥammad replied, "Everything's fine, but the Amīr should give me his sword." "This is not the way I'm used to being treated," Abū Muslim retorted, to which Muḥammad replied, "What are you worried about?" Abū Muslim then complained about it to Abū Jaʿfar, who responded, "May God rebuke whoever did that to you!" But then Abū Jaʿfar began to upbraid Abū Muslim, saying, "Were you not the one who wrote to me, putting your own name first, and were you not also the one who wrote to me asking for Amīnah bt. ʿAlī in marriage, claiming to be the son of Salīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās?[169] Furthermore, what induced you to kill Sulaymān b. Kathīr[170] despite his importance for our mission, he being one of our chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*) well before we included you in any part of this affair?" Abū Muslim replied, "He had insubordination in mind and disobeyed me, so I killed him." "But in our view his situation was as it should be," al-Manṣūr said, "yet you killed him and you disobeyed *me*, thus putting yourself in conflict with *me*. May God kill me if I do not

168. Following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, and *Indices*, 507; the Leiden text reads Najjārī. Bukhārā, a city that now lies in the Uzbekistān region of the former U.S.S.R., was formerly a principal city of Transoxania. *EI*², s.v. (W. Barthold and R. N. Frye); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 353–56; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 160; Le Strange, *Lands*, 460–63.

169. Amīnah bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh was Abū Jaʿfar's paternal aunt, as the mention in Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 378, makes explicit. She is cited in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 154, in the biography of Abū Muslim, as Āsīyah. Had Abū Muslim's lineage claim been ratified, this alliance would have followed the common pattern of first-cousin marriage. The paternity of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās's son, Salīṭ, was itself contested. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 149–50, 256; Lassner, "Abū Muslim"; Lassner, "Origins"; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 123, 203; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 100–4.

170. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, the third *naqīb* listed in the document *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216, which M. Sharon has dubbed the "Convention of the Daʿwah of Khurāsān," was replaced by Abū Muslim as head of the revolutionary effort in Khurāsān. Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192, 214–24; Ṭabarī, II, 1937, 1988; Caskel, *Ǧamarat an-nasab*, I, 200, II, 518. For the rivalry between Sulaymān and Abū Muslim, see Ṭabarī, II, 1962; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. I," 326; Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 113–15; and the epic account in Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 119.

kill you!" Then he struck Abū Muslim with a staff, and Shabīb and Ḥarb came forth and killed him. That was on the 24th of Shaʿbān in the year 137.[171] Al-Manṣūr recited: [115]

You thought that the debt would not be paid.
Pay now in full measure, Abū Mujrim (criminal).
You are given to drink a cup which you once passed round
More bitter to the throat than the wild gourd.[172]

The allusion is to the fact that in his time of authority and his battles Abū Muslim had killed about 600,000 in cold blood.

Another source: When Abū Jaʿfar chastized him, saying, "You did such and such and you did thus and so," Abū Muslim rejoined, "Such things should not be said to me after the trials I have undergone and the prowess I have displayed!" "Son of an impure woman," exclaimed Abū Jaʿfar, "by God, were a slave girl in your stead, she could have performed as well. You did what you did only within the ambit of our power and by our pleasure. Left to yourself, you could not trim a wick. Were you not the one who wrote to me, putting your own name first, and were you not also the one who wrote to me asking for Amīnah bt. ʿAlī in marriage, claiming to be the son of Salīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās? For a motherless wretch, you've made quite a difficult ascent!" Abū Muslim took the caliph's hand, stroked and kissed it, and apologized to him.

Another source: ʿUthmān b. Nahīk struck the first blow against Abū Muslim, hitting him lightly with his sword and doing no more than sever his sword straps. Yet Abū Muslim turned his attention to the severed straps,[173] so Shabīb b. Wāj struck at his foot, while the rest of Shabīb's cohort fell on him in turn until they had killed him.[174] All the while al-Manṣūr shouted at the slayers, "Keep hitting! May God cut your hands off [if you don't]!"

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171. Wednesday, February 12, 755. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, 107; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 154; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 476.

172. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII, gives the author of these lines as Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī (d. 158/774), a poet who was apparently out of favor during al-Manṣūr's reign. *EI*[2], s.v. (A. Schaade); *GAL*, I, 63, S I, 98; *GAS*, II, 471–72.

173. *Fa-iʿtaqala bihā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaqala*.

174. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 492, omits *fa-qaṭaʿa*.

One source recounts that as the first blow struck him, Abū Muslim cried, "Commander of the Faithful, spare me for your enemy's sword." "May God not spare me if I do," retorted Abū Jaʿfar, "for what enemy have I more treacherous than you?"

[116] Another source: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā arrived after Abū Muslim had been killed and asked, "Where is Abū Muslim, Commander of the Faithful?" "He was here just now," replied Abū Jaʿfar. ʿĪsā continued, "Commander of the Faithful, well you recognize his obedience, his sincere counsel, and the good opinion Imām Ibrāhīm had of him."[175] "What a fool you are!" retorted Abū Jaʿfar. "By God, I know on this earth no foe more hostile to you than he [was]. Look, there he is, over there in the rug," at which ʿĪsā intoned, "To God we belong and to Him is our return." Now as ʿĪsā had such an opinion of Abū Muslim, al-Manṣūr said to him, "May God cast him from your heart. Did you have authority or sovereignty or the power to command and prohibit in conjunction with Abū Muslim?"

Abū Jaʿfar then sent for Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah.[176] Jaʿfar entered, and the caliph said to him, "What have you to say about Abū Muslim?" "Commander of the Faithful," Jaʿfar responded, "if you have taken a single hair from his head, then kill, kill, kill." "God prosper you!" said al-Manṣūr and ordered him to stand up and look at Abū Muslim's corpse. Jaʿfar said, "From this day, Commander of the Faithful, will your caliphate be reckoned." Then permission was asked for Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī to enter, and he said, "Commander of the Faithful, last night I dreamt that you slaughtered a ram, and that I trampled it with my feet." "Abū al-Ḥasan, your eye was then asleep," said Abū Jaʿfar; "now stand up and verify your dream; God has indeed slain the sinner." Ismāʿīl went over to where Abū Muslim lay and stamped on him.

Al-Manṣūr was then of a mind to kill Abū Isḥāq, the captain of Abū Muslim's guards, and Abū Naṣr Mālik, prefect of police under Abū Muslim, but Abū al-Jahm spoke with him, saying,

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175. *Wa-raʾya al-imām Ibrāhīm kāna fihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *raʾā*.

176. Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Baḥrānī was a Syrian commander who fought for the Umayyads but later achieved prominence as one of the close associates (*ṣaḥābah*) of al-Manṣūr. His strategic advice was sought in the actions taken against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother, Ibrāhīm. Ṭabarī, III, 223–24; Crone, *Slaves*, 67, 249; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 253.

"Commander of the Faithful, Abū Muslim's army is your army; it is you who commanded them to obey him, and they did so." Al-Manṣūr therefore summoned Abū Isḥāq. When he entered the caliph's presence but had not yet seen Abū Muslim, Abū Ja'far said to him, "You have always been in close agreement with the enemy of God, Abū Muslim, whatever he decided to do, [haven't you?]." At this Abū Isḥāq recoiled and began to twist both right [117]
and left in fear of Abū Muslim." "Say what you have in mind," continued al-Manṣūr, "for God has slain the sinner"; and he ordered Abū Muslim's badly hacked body to be brought forth. Seeing it, Abū Isḥāq sank to the ground in a prolonged prostration. Al-Manṣūr told him to raise his head and speak, which he did, saying, "Praise God, who today has placed me in your safekeeping. By God, from the time I became his associate, there was never a single day when I felt safe from him. On no day did I ever come to him without having made my will, and without being dressed for the grave and embalmed." He then lifted his outer garments and beneath them he actually wore new linen garments impregnated with embalming aromatics. When Abū Ja'far saw this, he felt sorry for him and said, "Assume, now, the duty of obedience to your caliph and praise God who has delivered you from that evil-doer." Finally, Abū Ja'far told him to send away[177] all the people who were around him.

The caliph then summoned Mālik b. al-Haytham[178] and spoke to him in similar fashion. Mālik apologized to him with the defense that the caliph had ordered him to obey Abū Muslim, that people had served Abū Muslim and had been quick to satisfy him[179] only with the caliph's approval and, further, that he had been in the faithful service of the 'Abbāsids [long] before he knew Abū Muslim. Abū Ja'far accepted Mālik's apology and laid upon him the same injunction that he had given Abū Isḥāq about sending Abū Muslim's army on their way.

Abū Ja'far sent splendid rewards to a number of Abū Muslim's army commanders and gave his entire army enough to win them over. But Abū Muslim's close associates had second thoughts,

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177. *Farriq 'annī hādhā al-jamā'ata*. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 259; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 103.

178. I.e., Abū Naṣr.

179. *Wa-khaffa lahu al-nāsu bi-marḍātihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaffa*.

saying, "We sold our master for dirhams."[180] Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, called for Abū Isḥāq and said, "I swear by God, if they sever but a single one of my tent ropes, I shall have your neck and then wage all-out war against them." Abū Isḥāq thus went out to the malcontents and cried, "Get out of here, you dogs!"

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: After Abū Muslim was killed, Abū Jaʿfar wrote a letter to Abū Naṣr, ostensibly coming from Abū Muslim, commanding him to load up his baggage and
[118] whatever he had left behind in his charge and to come on ahead. He sealed the letter with Abū Muslim's seal; but when Abū Naṣr saw that the impress of the seal was whole, he knew that Abū Muslim had not written the letter. Saying to himself, "So you've done it, then," he went back down to Hamadhān[181] with the idea of making for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar then wrote to Abū Naṣr appointing him to Shahrazūr[182] and dispatched a messenger to him with the charge. After the messenger had left with the commission, news reached the caliph that Abū Naṣr had already set off for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, wrote to Zuhayr b. al-Turkī, then the governor of Hamadhān, saying, "If Abū Naṣr passes your way, arrest him." The letter reached Zuhayr quickly [i.e., ahead of the earlier one], while Abū Naṣr was still in Hamadhān, so Zuhayr seized him and imprisoned him in the castle. Now Zuhayr was a *mawlā* of the Khuzāʿah[183] tribe [i.e., Abū Naṣr's tribe], and Abū Naṣr had a nephew on his mother's side, Ibrāhīm b. ʿArīf,[184] to whom he now appealed, asking him, "Ibrāhīm, would you kill your own uncle?" "Never, by God!" answered Ibrāhīm. Zuhayr

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180. Crone, *Slaves*, 56, sees the relation of Abū Muslim and his men as an instance where "companionship and clientage almost converged." Abū al-ʿAbbās states that Abū Muslim's followers "prize him above their religious (*dīnihim*) and worldly (*dunyāhum*) concerns." Ṭabarī, III, 85.

181. Hamadhān, a city in central Iran in the province of al-Jibāl, was the site of a long siege in the fight between the caliphs Maʾmūn and Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 829; *EI*², s.v. (R. N. Frye); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 410–17; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 194–96, 227–30; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 128–32.

182. Also in the province of al-Jibāl, the ruins of Shahrazūr are found not far from the present-day border between Iran and Turkey. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 375–76; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 44; Le Strange, *Lands*, 190; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 207–8.

183. Khuzāʿah b. Rabīʿah was an ancient Arabian tribe with multiple connections to Mecca, whose claims to Muḍarī descent have been contested. *EI*², s.v. (M. J. Kister); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 196, II, 35.

184. This is his only mention in Ṭabarī, and he is not cited in the standard biographical sources.

then made *his* placatory appeal to Ibrāhīm and confided, "I am under orders, and by God, though he is one of the dearest people in the world to me, there's no way I can refuse to do what the Commander of the Faithful orders. So, by God, if one of you so much as shoots an arrow [in his defense], I'll throw his head at you." Abū Ja'far then wrote another letter to Zuhayr: "If you have already taken Abū Naṣr into custody, then kill him." At this point the one charged with the caliph's commission to Abū Naṣr arrived with it, so out of his affection for him Zuhayr released him and Abū Naṣr left. One day later the letter about killing Abū Naṣr reached Zuhayr, who responded, "I received a letter with his commission, so I released him."

Abū Naṣr then came to Abū Ja'far, who said, "Did you advise Abū Muslim to go on to Khurāsān?" "Yes, Commander of the Faithful," Abū Naṣr replied. "I owed him both benefits and favors; he sought my counsel, and I gave him my best advice. If you treat me kindly, Commander of the Faithful, I would give counsel to you and gratitude." Thus Abū Ja'far forgave him. Later, on the day the Rāwandiyyah[185] attacked, Abū Naṣr took charge of the castle gate, declaring, "Today I am the gatekeeper. No one shall enter the castle while I am alive." When Abū Ja'far asked the whereabouts of [Abū Naṣr] Mālik b. al-Haytham and was told about [119] what he had done, the caliph saw that Abū Naṣr had indeed been sincere in his service.

Another source: When Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham went on to Hamadhān, Abū Ja'far wrote to Zuhayr b. al-Turkī, saying, "God shall have your life blood if Mālik escapes you." Zuhayr, therefore, went to Mālik and said to him, "I have prepared a meal for you; would you not honor me by entering my house?" Mālik agreed to come. Zuhayr then armed forty men, whom he had handpicked, and placed them in the two rooms that opened on to the reception area that he had prepared. When Mālik entered, Zuhayr cried out, "Eat quickly, you blackguard!" Those forty men then burst in upon Mālik and bound him with fetters. Chains were put on his feet, and he sent him to al-Manṣūr. The latter treated him graciously, pardoned him, and installed him over al-Mawṣil.

185. The account of this is given in year 141.

In this year Sunbādh rebelled[186] in Khurāsān, seeking to avenge Abū Muslim.

The Episode of Sunbādh

It is said that this Sunbādh[187] was a Zoroastrian,[188] an inhabitant of a village called Ahan[189] in the district of Naysābūr,[190] and that at the time of his coming on the scene his followers were of a considerable number. It is said he rebelled in anger at the killing of Abū Muslim, seeking to avenge him because he was one of Abū Muslim's toadies. During his revolt, Sunbādh conquered Naysābūr, Qūmis,[191] and al-Rayy and was dubbed "Fayrūz the Iṣbahbadh."[192] Upon reaching al-Rayy, he took possession of Abū Muslim's storehouses, the latter having left his treasuries there when he departed to go to Abū [Jaʿfar] al-ʿAbbās. People from al-Jibāl[193] formed the greater part of Sunbādh's associates. Abū

186. For other accounts, consult *Fragmenta historicorum,* I, 224; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf,* III, 246–48; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae,* II, 441–42; Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* VI, 188–89; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī,* 171–72. See also Gholam Hossein Sadighi, *Les Mouvements religieux iraniens au ii*[e] *et iii*[e] *siècle de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938), 132–49; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim,* 55–56; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate,* 63–65; Sharon, *Black Banners,* 183 n. 89; Lassner, *Topography,* 129–30.

187. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* 314–16.

188. Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal,* I, 174, associates him with the Ghāliyyah, the "extremist" Shīʿī sects who were given different appelations: "In Iṣbahān they were called al-Khurramiyyah and al-Kūdhiyyah, in Rayy they were called al-Muzdikiyyah [*sic,* but better, Mazdakiyyah] and al-Sunbādhiyyah." For an earlier identification with al-Khurramiyyah, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* VI, 188. Laoust, *Schismes,* 62–63, includes Sunbādh in his category "les abû muslimîya."

189. Given as "Ahrawānah" in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* V, 481, which may be Ahar/Ahr. See Yāqūt, *Buldān,* I, 283–84; Cornu, *Répertoires,* 133; Le Strange, *Lands,* 169

190. The city of Nīshāpūr was a major site in the province of Khurāsān. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān,* V, 331–33; Cornu, *Répertoires,* 132; Le Strange, *Lands,* 382–88.

191. Qūmis was a small province that lay between the Alburz chain and the Great Desert. *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳūmis (C. E. Bosworth); Cornu, *Répertoires,* 142; Yāqūt, *Buldān,* IV, 414–15; Le Strange, *Lands,* 364–68.

192. *Ispahbadh* is a Sāsānid military title that survived well into Islamic period. Morony, *Iraq,* 28 and *passim,* translates it as "military governor." *EI*[2], s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

193. Al-Jibāl was the mountainous province that came to be called ʿIrāq ʿAjamī. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān,* II, 99; Le Strange, *Lands,* 185–231.

Jaʿfar sent Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī[194] against them with 10,000 troops.[195] The opposing forces met between Hamadhān and al-Rayy on the edge of the desert (*mafāzah*).[196] They fought, and Jahwar put Sunbādh to flight,[197] killing about 60,000 of his followers in the rout and taking their children and women prisoner. Subsequently, Sunbādh was killed between Ṭabaristān and Qūmis by Lūnān al-Ṭabarī.[198] Al-Manṣūr then made Wandāhurmuz b. al-Farrukhān[199] Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān and crowned[200] him. Seventy nights elapsed between Sunbādh's revolt and his murder. [120]

In this year Mulabbid b. Ḥarmalah al-Shaybānī[201] came out in revolt.[202] He mounted a Khārijī insurrection[203] in the Jazīrah region, at which point the frontier troops in the Jazīrah, said to number 1,000,[204] advanced against him. Mulabbid fought and routed them, killing an unknown number. Then the frontier army stationed at al-Mawṣil moved against him, and he routed them. Next it was the turn of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī,[205] but after a fierce battle between them, Mulabbid defeated him.

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194. For coinage associated with Jahwar, see George C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), 22–23.

195. Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 13, suggests that so large a force was necessary because this revolt "threatened to cut off the vital northern route between Khurāsān and the west." For use of the figure 10,000 as a topos of magnitude, see Conrad, "Conquest of Arwād," 354.

196. Some sources identify the site as a village called Jarjānbān. Rekaya, "Khurram-Dīn," 27.

197. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 495: "Sunbādh was put to flight."

198. Daniel, *Khurasan*, 128, reads this as Lūzān. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, Sunbādh was killed by the Iṣbahbādh's cousin for responding to him discourteously. Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, 117.

199. Daniel, *Khurasan*, 129, gives this as Hurmuzd.

200. See Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 199–200.

201. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII, for this vocalization.

202. For other accounts, see Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 166; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248–50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 482; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 149, II, 427.

203. The verb used here, *ḥakkama*, denotes the Khārijī assertion that judgment is reserved to God alone. According to the heresiographical literature, the earliest Khawārij were known as the Muḥakkimah. Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, I, 115–18; Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 51–55.

204. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 482, specifies this as 1,000 cavalry.

205. Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab (d. 170/786–87) served as governor of Ādharbayjān, of Egypt, and of North Africa (Ifrīqiyah). Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 233–35; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 446; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 111; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 11, 26, 63.

Mulabbid seized one of Yazīd's slave girls, who had become his concubine, and one of his army commanders was killed. Then Abū Jaʿfar dispatched against Mulabbid his *mawlā*, al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān,[206] with 2,000 of his best soldiers, but Mulabbid put them to flight and plundered their camp. The caliph next sent Nizār, one of the Khurāsānī commanders, against him, but Mulabbid killed him as well and put his comrades to flight. Then the caliph dispatched against him Ziyād b. Mushkān[207] with a large number of men. Mulabbid confronted and routed them as well. Trying again, the caliph sent Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ[208] off with a dense host of an army and numerous cavalry and equipment, yet Mulabbid sent them fleeing. Next Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, then the governor of the Jazīrah, set out against him, but Mulabbid confronted and confounded him. Ḥumayd took refuge from Mulabbid in a fortified position and gave him 100,000 dirhams on condition that he leave him alone.[209]

Al-Wāqidī[210] claimed that Mulabbid's emergence and Khārijī proclamation occurred in the year 138.

[121] In this year the troops had no summer campaign, because the reigning power was occupied with the war against Sunbādh.[211]

As al-Wāqidī and others concur, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, then governor of al-Mawṣil, led the Pilgrimage in this year.

Governing Medina was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, while al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad was governor of Mecca. Al-ʿAbbās died at

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206. According to Ṭabarī, III, 494, 501, al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān eventually served as governor of Jurjān, a post from which he was dismissed in 163. A street (*sikkah*) on the west side of Baghdad was named after him. Lassner, *Topography*, 70, 256.

207. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248, places this battle in Bājarmā. In 132/749–50 Ziyād b. Mushkān fought Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ under al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah's command. Ṭabarī, III, 20.

208. Identified as a *mawlā* of the Kindah tribe, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ was governor of Armenia from 133 to 134. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248; Ṭabarī, III, 75, 81; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178.

209. The eventual defeat and death of Mulabbid is described under year 138.

210. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), author of the *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, was a celebrated historian, biographer of the Prophet, and *qāḍī*. *EI*[1], s.v. (J. Horovitz); *GAS*, I, 294–97; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 238–40; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 454–69; *DMA*, s.v. (L. Conrad); Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 83–99; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 223–26.

211. See Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs", 732.

the conclusion of the Pilgrimage ceremonies, so Ismāʿīl combined al-ʿAbbās's governorate with that of Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, and Abū Jaʿfar confirmed the latter's jurisdiction over Mecca. In this year the governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; and of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, while ʿUmar b. ʿĀmir al-Sulamī was in charge of its judiciary. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah of the Jazīrah. The governor of Egypt was Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.[212]

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212. Although he was also governor of Syria, Sourdel, "Syrie," 158–59, notes that in this earlier period Ṭabarī does not include Syrian governors in his listings.

The Events of the Year 138

(June 16, 755–June 4, 756)

Among the events of this year was the violent entry,[213] by Constantine[214] the tyrant of Byzantium, into Malaṭyah,[215] overwhelming its populace and razing its walls but granting amnesty to its inhabitants, both combatants and children.[216]

Among the events was also the raid[217]—al-Wāqidī calls it a "summer campaign"—that al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b.

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213. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 224–25; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 376; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v, 486; and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73. Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 435, records on attack against Malaṭya by Constantine in 133, as does Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 116, while Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171, sets the event in 139.

214. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 143, gives the name as Constantine Copronymus.

215. Also Malaṭīn or Malaṭiyah, this was a town in eastern Anatolia, near the western Euphrates, which became one of the frontier fortresses during the Umayyad period. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 192–93; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 19; *EI*², s.v. (E. Honigmann); Le Strange, *Lands*, 120–21; *EI*¹, s.v. al-Thughūr (E. Honigmann).

216. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 199, the Muslim inhabitants were expelled.

217. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 444; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 470; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171 (under the year 139); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 486; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, X, 73.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās[218] made with Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh. Ṣāliḥ rewarded him with 40,000 dīnārs. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh went out with them, so Ṣāliḥ gave him 40,000 dīnārs too. Ṣāliḥ b. [122] ʿAlī rebuilt what the leader of the Byzantines had destroyed in Malaṭyah.

Some sources say that the raiding expedition against Malaṭyah made by Ṣāliḥ and al-ʿAbbās occurred in the year 139.

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who was then residing in al-Baṣrah with his brother Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, rendered the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar.[219]

In this year Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr.[220]

The Reason Jahwar Turned against al-Manṣūr

The reason for that mentioned in the sources is as follows: When Jahwar put Sunbādh to flight, he took possession of the contents of his camp, including the stored treasures that Abū Muslim had left behind in al-Rayy. Then Jahwar failed to forward these things to Abū Jaʿfar and, fearing the consequences, he turned [outright] renegade. Abū Jaʿfar then sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī[221] against him with a huge force. Muḥammad engaged Jahwar, and they waged a hard-fought battle. With Jahwar were

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218. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās was a brother of the caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 186/802) who led other noted campaigns against the Byzantines and who served as governor of Syria for al-Manṣūr and as governor of the Jazīrah for the caliph al-Rashīd. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 534–35; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 638.

219. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 486. The account of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's contestation of Abū Jaʿfar's claim to the caliphate may be found in the chapter on year 137.

220. For other accounts see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247–48; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73–74; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 393–94; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 375.

221. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath (d. 149/766), one of Abū Muslim's governors in Khurāsān, was governor of Damascus for al-Manṣūr and later appointed to Egypt. In 144/761 he took al-Qayrawān back from the Ibāḍiyyah and subsequently built its fortification walls. Ṭabarī, II, 2001, III, 353; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 228; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 108–9; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 76–77, 190; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳayrawān (M. Talbi).

the elite of the Persian cavalry, Ziyād and al-Ishtākhanj,[222] yet Jahwar and his confederates were routed, with many of them being killed. Ziyād and al-Ishtākhanj were taken prisoner, but Jahwar escaped and managed to get to Ādharbayjān. Some time later he was arrested in Isbādhrū[223] and killed.[224]

In this year the Khārijite, al-Mulabbid, was slain.[225]

How al-Mulabbid Came to Be Killed

It is said that when al-Mulabbid[226] had bested Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, and Ḥumayd, in turn, had taken refuge from al-Mulabbid, Abū Jaʿfar sent against him ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[227] the brother of ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[228] in conjunction with Ziyād b. Mushkān. Al-Mulabbid waylaid him
[123] with 100 cavalry in such a way that when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz met up with him, those lying in ambush came forth and routed him, killing the greater part of his confederates. At this Abū Jaʿfar dispatched against him Khāzim b. Khuzaymah[229] with about 8,000 men from Marw al-Rūdh. Khāzim marched forth as far as al-Mawṣil, where he encamped; from there he sent some of his associates forward toward Balad[230] along with the pioneer units.

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222. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 196, cites an Ashtākhawst near Marw and an Ishtīkhan in Samarqand. For the latter, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

223. Isbīdhrūdh or Sabīdhrūdh, more commonly Safīd-Rūd, was the name of a river in southeastern Ādharbayjān. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 172–73; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 141; Le Strange, *Lands*, 169–70.

224. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247–48, the governor of Ādharbayjān, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, gave a guarantee of safe-conduct to Jahwar, but the guarantee was transgressed and Jahwar was killed. Yazīd then sent Jahwar's head and the heads of his assassins to al-Manṣūr.

225. For other accounts see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248–50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 485–86; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 376.

226. This continues the account begun by Ṭabarī at III, 120.

227. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī was a governor of al-Baṣrah under al-Manṣūr and brother of the renegade Khurāsānī governor whose defeat is described under the year 141. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 230, 257; Crone, *Slaves*, 173.

228. See note 109.

229. See note 77.

230. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX. Balad (Balaṭ) was a city on the Tigris northwest of al-Mawṣil. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 16; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 484–85; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99, 125; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 482, 484, 500.

This advance party went on to Balad, where they dug trenches and set up booths (*aswāq*)[231] for him. News of that reached al-Mulabbid, so he came forth and encamped at Balad in the trench that Khāzim's diggers had prepared. When Khāzim learned of that, he went out to a heavily fortified spot on the outskirts of al-Mawṣil and set up camp there. Hearing of this, al-Mulabbid crossed the Tigris from Balad and headed for Khāzim on the other side going toward al-Mawṣil. When news of that reached Khāzim as well as Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī, the governor of al-Mawṣil, the latter ordered Khāzim to come back from his encampment [on the outskirts] so that he could cross by the bridge in al-Mawṣil. Khāzim, however, forebore doing so, preferring to make a bridge from his camp site and thereby cross [i.e., over the ditch; see below] to al-Mulabbid.

Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym b. Khāzim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nahshalī[232] was in command of Khāzim's vanguard and scouts, while the right flank was headed by Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī[233] and the left by Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ,[234] the *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym.[235] Khāzim himself marched with the center. He kept up with al-Mulabbid and his confederates until evening fell, whereupon they took opposing positions for the night.[236] On Wednesday morning, al-Mulabbid and his men decamped, heading for the district of Ḥazzah.[237] Khāzim and his troops continued to keep level with them until night fell, and they resumed once more on Thursday. Al-Mulabbid and his men kept moving as if intend-

231. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sūq*.

232. Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym had previously commanded Khāzim b. Khuzaymah's vanguard in a battle against the Khārijīs in 134/751. Ṭabarī, III, 78–80. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 485, gives the name as Faḍalah b. Nuʿaym.

233. For earlier military services by Zuhayr b. Muḥammad, see Ṭabarī, III, 4, 21.

234. Some seven years later (see under the year 145) Abū Ḥammad al-Marwazī would fight for al-Manṣūr against another insurgent, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh.

235. Sulaym b. Manṣūr were a tribe of Qays-ʿAylān whose traditional territory lay in the Ḥijāz between Mecca and Medina. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 122; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 261–64; Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*.

236. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 498, reading *tawāqafū* rather than the Leiden text's one of *tawāfaqū*.

237. Arḍ Ḥazzah, the Sāsānid district of Adiabene, lay southeast of al-Mawṣil. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 256; Morony, *Iraq*, 126, 127 (map), 204; *EI*[2], s.v. al-Mawṣil (E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth); Caetani, *Cronographia generale* 141; Ṭabarī, I, 820.

ing to escape from Khāzim. At this, Khāzim and his confederates marched out in their tracks, leaving behind the trench equipped with caltrops, which Khāzim had dug against al-Mulabbid and his men. When Khāzim's force abandoned their trench, al-Mulabbid and his troops whirled around to attack them. Seeing
[124] that, Khāzim threw down the caltrops in front of al-Mulabbid and his confederates, who then attacked Khāzim, rolled up his right flank, and did the same to the left. Finally, they reached the center, commanded by Khāzim himself. As he realized that, Khāzim shouted to his men, "To the ground, to the ground!"[238] The troops dismounted, as did al-Mulabbid and his forces. The latter hamstrung their mounts, and then the opposing forces flailed away with their swords until the swords were broken. At this point Khāzim commanded Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym, "When the dust rises and we can no longer see each other, you and your men return to your horses and remount. Then start shooting arrows." Ibn Nuʿaym did as he was ordered, while Khāzim's troops fell back from the right all the way to the left flank. They then rained arrows on al-Mulabbid and his confederates, killing al-Mulabbid along with 800 of the men who had dismounted. (About 300 had been killed before they dismounted.) The rest fled, but Naḍalah pursued them and killed another 150 men.

In this year the Pilgrimage was led by al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās,[239] as both al-Wāqidī and others have reported. It is also said that Ibn Ṣāliḥ left his father in Syria as a simple pilgrim, but while he was on the road, his commissioned responsibility for the Pilgrimage ceremonies and for leading the Pilgrimage reached him, so he went on through Medina and entered the state of consecration (*iḥrām*)[240] from there on.[241]

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238. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 499, omits the second *al-arḍ* without textual citation.

239. Ṭabarī, II, 1716, III, 466, 470, 484, 491, dates the birth of this cousin of al-Manṣūr to 122/739–40 and notes that he became governor of the Jazīrah in 159/775–76 and was removed from that position in 161/777–78. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 67, 75; Lassner, *Shaping*, appendix E; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 149.

240. In this ritual state the requisite garb for male pilgrims consists of two large pieces of unstitched cloth.

241. Ṭabarī later, at III, 147, explains Abū Jaʿfar's expectations of al-Faḍl in the search for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother Ibrāhīm.

Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh[242] was governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if.[243] The governor of al-Kūfah and its Sawād was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī,[244] while its judiciary was headed by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh.[245] Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān, and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī[246] was governor of Egypt.

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242. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale,* 147; Zambaur, *Manuel,* 20, 24.

243. Al-Ṭā'if is a town in the Sarāṭ mountains southeast of Mecca. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Yāqūt, *Buldān,* IV, 8–12.

244. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale,* 148; Zambaur, *Manuel,* 40, as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.

245. Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 157/773–74) was the grandfather of the famous Baghdādī judge and traditionist Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmi (d. 245/859–60). It is reported that, before pronouncing judgment, he raised his head heavenward and let tears well up in his eyes. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā,* VII, 260–61; Ṭabarī, III, 380; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* XI, 544; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* XVI, 37.

246. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale,* 149; Kindī, *Wulāh,* 105, 106. Zambaur, *Manuel,* 26, has Abū ʿAwn.

The Events of the Year

139

(June 5, 756–May 24, 757)

[125] Among the events of this year was the fact that Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad stayed on in Malaṭyah until they had completed its rebuilding.[247] Then these two waged the summer campaign through Darb al-Ḥadath,[248] penetrating deeply in Byzantine territory. Campaigning with Ṣāliḥ were his two sisters, Umm ʿĪsā[249] and Lubābah,[250] both the daughters of ʿAlī,[251] for they had vowed that if the Umayyad reign came to an end, they

247. Other sources include Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 444–45; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 488; *Chronicon Anonymum*, 173.

248. A narrow pass northwest of al-Ḥadath, a frontier town between Marʿash and Malaṭyah, whose name the "Arabs changed to *darb al-salāma* in an attempt to exorcise the evil fate which seemed to be attached to it." *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadath (S. Ory); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 227–29; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 18; Le Strange, *Lands*, 121–22.

249. Umm ʿĪsā bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, who was married to Ibn Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 72.

250. Lubābah bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who was married to Ibn Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās. Ibid.

251. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 117 or 118/735–37) was the grandfather of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 71–80; Ṭabarī, II, 1592.

would fight "in the path of God."[252] Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī[253] mounted a raid through the Malaṭyah pass.

In this year al-Manṣūr and the Byzantine ruler worked out a ransom agreement by which the caliph recovered the Muslim prisoners from them.[254] After that, the sources report, the Muslims had no summer campaign until 146,[255] because Abū Jaʿfar was occupied with matters involving the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.[256] Some sources say, however, that al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah conducted a summer campaign in the year 140 along with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb,[257] the son of Ibrāhīm the Imām. They say that the Byzantine leader, Constantine, along with 100,000 troops, came forward and encamped at the Jayḥān.[258] When, however, news of the magnitude of the Muslim force reached him, he pulled back. Following that incident there was no summer campaign until 146.

In this year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān[259] went to Spain, where the populace accepted his hegemony and where his descendants rule to this day.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar enlarged the Mosque in Mecca.[260] Sources report that it was a very fertile year and was accordingly named "the Year of Abundance".[261]

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252. A Qurʾānic expression first encountered in *sūrat al-baqarah*, 2, 154: "And do not say of those who are killed [fighting] in the path of God 'they are dead.' "

253. According to Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171, Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah also planted crops and used lime (*kils*) in rebuilding the city.

254. Kennedy, "Arab Settlement," 23, notes that at this point the city was garrisoned with 4,000 troops.

255. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 488.

256. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan ("al-Muthannā") b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See note 402. Also *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

257. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad (d. 157/774), a nephew of Abū Jaʿfar, led the Pilgrimage in 146 and waged summer campaigns in 151 and 152. He married a daughter of his great-uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 94, 127; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 179.

258. The Jayḥān, or Ceyhan, River flows southwest from Elbistan to the Mediterranean. *EI*[2], s.v. Djayḥān (M. Canard); Le Strange, *Lands*, 120, 122, 129–31; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 202; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 6.

259. He died in 172/788, after consolidating Umayyad power from his capital in Cordova. *EI*[2], s.v. (E. Lévi-Provençal); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 244–53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 489–96.

260. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227, calls this *masjid al-kaʿbah*.

261. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74–75.

In this year Sulaymān b. ʿAlī was dismissed from the governor-
[126] ship of al-Baṣrah and from jurisdiction over its subdistricts. Some sources record this for the year 140.

In this year al-Manṣūr appointed Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah[262] to the governorship of al-Baṣrah previously held by Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. Sources date that to Wednesday in the middle of Ramaḍān.[263] When Sulaymān was dismissed and Sufyān appointed, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his confederates went into hiding, fearing for their own safety. Abū Jaʿfar heard about that and forwarded a letter to Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, the sons of ʿAlī, about sending ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī on to him. He adjured them to do so without delay, giving a sufficiently satisfactory pledge of security for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to secure their trust.[264] The caliph then wrote to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah informing him of this and instructing him to pester and prod the two brothers into bringing forth ʿAbdallāh and his entourage. This Sulaymān and ʿĪsā did, bringing ʿAbdallāh, the mass of his army commanders, his closest associates, and his *mawlās* to reach Abū Jaʿfar on Thursday, the 17th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[265]

In this year Abū Jaʿfar ordered the detention of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his entourage and the execution of some of them.[266]

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262. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab remained governor of al-Baṣrah until 145, when he was replaced by Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, who was dismissed by Abū Jaʿfar within the year. In 132 Sufyān had unsuccessfully attempted to displace this same Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī as the last Umayyad governor of al-Baṣrah. Ṭabarī, III, 21–23, 319, 327; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 74–78; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 280.

263. 15 Ramaḍān 139 would be February 10, 757, which was actually a Thursday. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 161.

264. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 442, this *amān* was composed by the celebrated literary figure Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (Sourdel, "Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ"), who was then in the service of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. The constraints against caliphal transgression of the agreement that he included in the document led to his dismissal and eventual execution. The text of this *amān* is reproduced in Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 168–70, while Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 104–5, details the grievances against Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ for which Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah exacted mortal vegeance.

265. Thursday, May 12, 757.

266. For other accounts, see Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 442–43; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 170 (given for the year 138); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 496–97.

The Arrest of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī

When Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, the sons of ʿAlī, reached Abū Jaʿfar, he gave them leave to enter his presence. They informed him that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was there and asked Abū Jaʿfar's permission for him to enter. The caliph acceded to their request and engaged them in conversation, having already prepared a place of confinement in his palace for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and given orders that ʿAbdallāh be taken off there after ʿĪsā and Sulaymān had entered his presence. That having been done, Abū Jaʿfar rose from his seat and said to Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, "Hurry off with ʿAbdallāh." When they went out without finding ʿAbdallāh in the antechamber [127]
where he had been waiting, they realized he had been arrested. Attempting to return to Abū Jaʿfar, however, their way was barred. At the same time those confederates of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī who were present were divested of their swords and imprisoned. Khufāf b. Manṣūr had forewarned them of that and now rued the fact that he had come himself, saying to them, "You should do what I say. We could make a concerted attack on Abū Jaʿfar and, by God, no one could get in our way before we'd done away with him! Then we'd rush these doors with our swords drawn and no one would dare try and stop us without our taking his life.[267] And so, eventually, we'd get out of here and escape." But they refused to obey him, so when their swords were seized and Abū Jaʿfar ordered their imprisonment, Khufāf began to make rude sounds in his beard[268] and spit in his comrades' faces. Abū Jaʿfar then ordered that some of them be killed in his presence and sent those remaining to Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm in Khurāsān, where the latter killed them. Other sources state that Abū Jaʿfar's imprisonment of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī occurred in 140.[269]

In this year al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās led the Pilgrimage.

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267. *Afatnāhu nafsahu*, following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX.

268. *Yaḍriṭu fī liḥyatihi* as an expression of derision or impatience. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḍaraṭa*.

269. For an account of the death of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī in 147/764–65, see Ṭabarī, III, 328–31; Lassner, "Did the Caliph?" and *Shaping*, 39–57.

The governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ṭā'if was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, while ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was in charge of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah headed al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, with Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh in charge of its judiciary. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān.

The Events of the Year 140

(May 25, 757–May 13, 758)

The Death of the Governor of Khurāsān and What Brought It About

It is related that one night some members of the army became so stirred up against Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, then Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr's governor in Khurāsān, that they converged on the house where he lived near the Kushmāhan[270] gate in the city of Marw.[271] Perched on the edge of a protruding brick, Abū Dāwūd looked down from the parapet and began to shout out to his confederates so that they would recognize his voice. Near daybreak, however, the brick broke, and Abū Dāwūd fell onto the overhang (*sutrah*)[272] of a portico at the forward section of the terrace, breaking his back. He died about the time of the afternoon prayer.

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270. Also Kushmayhan, this was a village northeast of Marw on the road to Bukhārā. Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 151; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 463. Le Strange, *Lands*, 400, gives this as the Dār Mashkān gate.

271. Other sources include Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 498; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 226–27; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75.

272. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *satara*.

ʿIṣām,[273] Abū Dāwūd's prefect of police, acted as his successor until ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī arrived.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān governor of Khurāsān.[274] He arrived and there arrested some of the army commanders whom he is said to have suspected of promoting the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's descendants. Among them were Mujāshiʿ b. Ḥurayth al-Anṣārī, commander (*ṣāḥib*) of Bukhārā; Abū al-Mughīrah, a *mawlā* of the Banū Tamīm[275] (also known as Khālid b. Kathīr),[276] who was commander of Qūhistān;[277] and al-Ḥarīsh b. Muḥammad al-Dhuhlī, Abū Dāwūd's paternal first cousin. These he killed, while al-Junayd b. Khālid b. Huraym al-Taghlibī and Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl al-Muzanī[278] were imprisoned after a severe beating. ʿAbd al-Jabbār confined a number of the most prominent Khurāsānī army commanders and insisted on extracting the remaining revenues due from Abū Dāwūd's agents.

[129] In this year Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr went on the Pilgrimage, entering the state of consecration at al-Ḥīrah.[279] Upon completion of the Pilgrimage he returned to Medina and from there proceeded to Jerusalem.[280]

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273. Abū ʿIṣām ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym, a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX. According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 226, al-Manṣūr promised Abū ʿIṣām that he would be the "amīr of Khurāsān" if he killed Abū Dāwūd.

274. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 227–30; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 445; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 498; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 613–15.

275. Tamīm b. Murr was a major tribal group of central and east Arabia. *EI*², s.v. (G. Levi della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 544.

276. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 184, 202, lists these two as governors of Bukhārā and Qūhistān, respectively. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 277, II, 298.

277. Qūhistān was the region of eastern Khurāsān centered around the town of Qāyin. *EI*², s.v. (J. H. Kramers); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 153; Le Strange, *Lands*, 352–63; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 416.

278. Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl al-Muzanī was appointed governor of Sind in 157/773 and died in 159/775–76. Ṭabarī, III, 380, 461.

279. To do so at such an early stage was presumably intended as a gesture of particular piety, because entering on the state of *iḥrām* carried various abstentions with it.

280. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 379–80, speaks of Abū Jaʿfar's generosity to the people of Medina. See also *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 378; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 444, 469; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 173; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75.

For this year, the governors of the major cities were the same as the year before except for Khurāsān, its governor being ʿAbd al-Jabbār. When Abū Jaʿfar reached Jerusalem he prayed at the mosque there and then took the road for Syria,[281] continuing on to sojourn at al-Raqqah. There he was brought Manṣūr b. Jaʿwanah b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī[282] of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah,[283] whom he had executed. Leaving there, Abū Jaʿfar took the Euphrates as far as al-Hāshimiyyah, i.e., the Hāshimiyyah of al-Kūfah.[284]

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281. Sourdel, "Syrie," 166, marks this as one of two visits that al-Manṣūr made to Syria during his reign.

282. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192, places this execution in 141. As a former official for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, he is among those who went into hiding when ʿAbdallāh fled to al-Baṣrah in 137.

283. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah were a large tribal group in western central Arabia. *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 163–64.

284. Al-Hāshimiyyah was the early ʿAbbāsid administrative center near Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. *EI*², s.v. (J. Lassner); Lassner, *Shaping*, 151–62; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–71; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 389.

The Events of the Year 141

(May 14, 758–May 3, 759)

Among the events of this year was the revolt of the Rāwandiyyah.[285] Some of the sources state that the episode involving the Rāwandiyyah and Abū Ja'far, which I am going to relate, took place in 137 or 136.[286]

The Rāwandiyyah Affair and How Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr Dealt with Them

According to the account given on the authority of 'Alī b. Muḥammad, the Rāwandiyyah were a Khurāsānī group who fol-

285. The Rāwandiyyah were a largely Khurāsānī group of proto-Shī'ī Hāshimīs, linked to the eponymous 'Abdallāh al-Rāwandī, who acknowledged Muḥammad b. 'Alī's succession from Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyah and who through a belief in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ*) elevated Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr to divine status. Cahen, "Points de vue"; Laoust, *Schismes*, 62; Hodgson, "Early Shī'a."

286. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227–28; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 380; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 235–37; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 173; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 502–4; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 160–61; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75–77; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, III, 395–96.

lowed Abū Muslim,[287] leader of the Banū Hāshim cause.[288] They are said to have believed in the transmigration of souls,[289] claiming that the spirit (*rūḥ*) of Adam dwelt in ʿUthmān b. Nahīk;[290] that their Lord, who gave them food and drink, was Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr;[291] and that al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah[292] was Gabriel.

They arrived at al-Manṣūr's castle and began to circumambulate it, saying, "This is the castle of our Lord." Consequently al- [130]
Manṣūr sent for their leaders and imprisoned 200 of them. At this their comrades grew angry and asked, "Why were they imprisoned?" Al-Manṣūr forbade them to congregate, but they prepared a bier and, carrying the coffin[293] empty with no one in it, they crossed through the city as far as the gate of the prison, threw down the bier, attacked the people, and entered the prison. After extricating their confederates, the Rāwandiyyah, then 600 strong, started to make their way back to al-Manṣūr. The populace, however, sounded the alarm, and the city gates were fastened shut so that no one could enter. There being no riding horse stabled in the castle, al-Manṣūr left there on foot. (From that day on, he began to keep one of the caliphal palace horses tethered close by in the castle compound.)

When al-Manṣūr left the castle, a mount was brought for him. Bestriding it, he was himself heading for the Rāwandiyyah mob when Maʿn b. Zāʾidah[294] came to a halt before Abū Jaʿfar and

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287. According to al-Nawbakhtī, they claimed that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Abū Jaʿfar and that he had the power to cause death and revivification. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shīʿah*, 52.

288. For the connection of the Rāwandiyyah with Abū Muslim and the larger ʿAbbāsid cause, see Cahen, "Points de vue," 324–32.

289. See Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 254.

290. See note 157. See also Laoust, *Schismes*, 62, who gives the name as Ibn Nuhayk (Nuhaik).

291. The *imāmah* lineage from Muḥammad to Abū Jaʿfar is given by Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-islamiyyīn*, I, 94.

292. Al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAtakī was the governor of Mecca 141–43/758–61. In 155/771–72 al-Manṣūr appointed him to al-Baṣrah. A year later he died in Baghdad during intercourse with a slave girl, and at his burial rites the caliph prayed over his body. Ṭabarī, III, 138, 373, 378; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218, as al-ʿAkkī; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 105; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20.

293. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 235, the coffin ostensibly held the body of a dead woman but was actually filled with weapons.

294. Abū al-Walīd Maʿn b. Zāʾidah al-Shaybānī (d. 152/769–70) was an Umayyad commander who defended Wāsiṭ against the ʿAbbāsids and allegedly killed Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb. His rescue of al-Manṣūr won him forgiveness and ad-

threw himself into action.[295] Hastily dismounting and tucking the lower part of this tunic (*birkat al-qabā'*)[296] into his belt, he grabbed the rein of al-Manṣūr's horse and said, "By God I implore you, Commander of the Faithful, to go back,[297] for you are safe [if you do this]."[298] Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham then arrived and stationed himself at the castle door, saying, "Today I shall be a gatekeeper."[299] The market folk were called out, and they hurled missiles upon the Rāwandiyyah, fighting until they had exhausted them. At this point the city gate was opened so that the people could enter. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, arriving on a gelding, asked the Commander of the Faithful whether he should massacre the Rāwandiyyah. "Yes," Abū Jaʿfar replied, so Khāzim assaulted them, forcing them back against a wall. They then turned on Khāzim and laid the commander and his forces bare to attack. But Khāzim retaliated and again forced them back to the city wall. To al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah[300] he said, "When they wheel round against us, get behind them to the wall and kill them as they go back once more." The Rāwandiyyah attacked Khāzim,
[131] but he pretended to flee before them[301] and, with al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah coming up from behind them, they were all killed.

At that time ʿUthmān b. Nahīk went out and spoke to the Rāwandiyyah.[302] As he withdrew, they shot him in the back with an arrow, from which he died after a few days of illness. Standing at his grave until burial, Abū Jaʿfar prayed for ʿUthmān, saying, "May God have mercy on you, Abū Yazīd." In ʿUthmān's place as

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ministrative appointments in the Yemen and Sīstān. He was killed at Bust in a surprise attack by local Khārijīs. *EI*², s.v. (H. Kennedy); Ṭabarī, III, 15–16, 394–96; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 401–2; Crone, *Slaves*, 169; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 244–54.

295. *Fa-ramā bi-nafsihi.*

296. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIX, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *baraka.*

297. *Allā rajaʿta*, following Wright, *Grammar*, II, 305.

298. This scene is presented in greater detail on p. 68, below.

299. For a somewhat expanded version of this pledge, see p. 43.

300. Al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah b. Zuhayr al-Tamīmī (d. 156/772–73) was a *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr who served under both Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. Ṭabarī, III, 356–57, 856; Lassner, *Topography*, 70 (translating al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*).

301. *Fa-iṭṭarada lahum.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭarada.*

302. See p. 63, where the Rāwandiyyah esteem him as the embodiment of the prophet Adam's spirit.

head of his guard, the caliph then appointed ʿĪsā b. Nahīk,[303] who held that position until he died, whereupon Abū Jaʿfar named Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsi[304] to the post.

On that day, after the gates had been bolted, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī arrived and said to the gatekeeper, "Open up and you shall have 1,000 dirhams," but the gatekeeper refused. That was also the same day that al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Ḍirār,[305] prefect of police for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, was in the city and gave proof of his courage. All of this occurred in the city of al-Hāshimiyyah near al-Kūfah.

When al-Rabīʿ came forward to seize al-Manṣūr's bridle that day, Maʿn said to him, "This is not one of your days!" Abarwīz,[306] son of the Maṣmughān,[307] the ruler of Dunbāwand,[308] also made a gallant showing. Having quarreled with his brother, he had come to Abū Jaʿfar, who treated him graciously, providing a subsidy for him. On this day, therefore, he again came before the caliph, made obeisance to him, and asked whether he should fight the Rāwandiyyah. With the caliph's approval, he proceeded to the task. As soon as he had struck and felled one, he would withdraw [to fight another].

When the Rāwandiyyah had been slain and al-Manṣūr had prayed the noon prayer, he called for dinner but said, "Bring Maʿn b. Zāʾidah here,"[309] not touching his food until Maʿn arrived. The

303. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk al-ʿAkkī, like his brother ʿUthmān, was one of the seven *duʿāt* in the Khurāsānī town of Abīward. After his death Abū Jaʿfar proved extraordinarily generous to his family. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 73; Ṭabarī, III, 400; Crone, *Slaves*, 189.

304. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭāʾī al-Ṭūsī was also a *dāʿī* in Abīward and a revolutionary commander who fought against Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ. He later served in administrative positions under the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 24; Ṭabarī, II, 1950, 1963, III, 20, 324, 517, 521; Crone, *Slaves*, 174.

305. For the year 147, Ṭabarī, III, 347, reports him as being in command of the police force (*shurṭah*) of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 60, II, 465; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 233.

306. In *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 228, Abarwīz's full title is give as "al-Maṣmughān Mālik b. Dīnār, *malik* of Dunbāwand."

307. A Zoroastrian dynasty whose name means "great one of the Magians." *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky).

308. Now Damāwand, the district and town, took their names from the highest peak in Ṭabaristān, a volcanic mountain mass visible from Tehran and well beyond. *EI*², s.v. Damāwand (M. Streck): Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 462, 475–77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 371; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 40; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 123.

309. *Aṭliʿū*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭalaʿ*.

caliph asked Qutham[310] to change places and had Maʿn sit in his place. When they finished the meal, al-Manṣūr said to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, "Abū al-ʿAbbās, have you heard [of the phrase] "the lions[311] among men?" " With ʿĪsā's affirmative response Abū Jaʿfar continued, "Had you seen Maʿn today you would realize that he is one of those lions." "By God, Commander of the Faithful," interjected Maʿn, "indeed I came before you with a coward's heart. But when I saw how you disdained them and dauntlessly advanced
[132] against them, I saw something in warfare that I had hitherto never seen among men. That emboldened me and prompted the deeds you witnessed."

Ibn Khuzaymah said, "Commander of the Faithful, some of the Rāwandiyyah group are still alive." To this Abū Jaʿfar replied, "As I have charged you with authority in the matter, go ahead and kill them." Then I shall kill Rizām,[312] as he is one of them," said Ibn Khuzaymah. At this Rizām took refuge with Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar;[313] as his son had made an appeal on Rizām's behalf,[314] the caliph had granted him a guarantee of safe-conduct.

According to ʿAlī—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī:[315] I was standing at the gate of the Commander of the Faithful when he made an appearance, and a man next to me said, "This is the Lord of Power!

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310. Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 159/775–76) was governor of al-Yamāmah from 143 until the time of his death, having died before al-Mahdī's letter of deposition reached him. Ṭabarī, III, 142, 466; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 74; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* V, 190. Under the year 151, Ṭarbarī, III, 365–67, offers an account of the stratagem by which Qutham split Abū Jaʿfar's army into tribal and regional groupings for strategic reasons.

311. *Bi-usudi al-rijāl*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX; cf. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 506–7: *bi-ashadda al-rijāl*.

312. The *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor of Medina who was displaced in 144 by Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī. Rizām remained steadfastly loyal to his master despite savage beatings. Ṭabarī, III, 164–65.

313. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar, the elder of two sons of the caliph who carried this name, was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil in 145 but predeceased his father, dying in 150/767 in Baghdad. He was buried in the cemetery of Quraysh, and al-Manṣūr wept at his interment. Ṭabarī, III, 353, 358, 442; Le Strange, *Bagdad*, 109, 160; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 36; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 266–67.

314. *Fa-ṭalaba fīhi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭalaba*.

315. Salamah b. ʿAbdallāh Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. 159/775–6), a Baṣran *muḥaddith*, was numbered among the close associates (*ṣaḥābah*) of al-Manṣūr. A noted raconteur, he was once embarrassed by the caliph when reminded that he had repeated the same story. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 325; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 52.

This is the one who gives us food and drink." Upon the Commander of the Faithful's return, while people were being admitted to his presence, I entered when he was alone and exclaimed, "Today I heard something amazing!" I then repeated what the man had said. Poking at the ground he remarked, "O Hudhalī, when He raises them up I'd rather God send them to Hell while obedient to us, dragging them down, than send them to heaven while disobedient."[316]

According to Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh[317]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ[318]—his father:[319] I heard al-Manṣūr say, "I have made three mistakes from whose evil consequences God has protected me: I had Abū Muslim killed in a cloth tent (*khiraq*)[320] while surrounded by those who gave preference and precedence to obeying him. Had the cloth been rent asunder, I would have perished. I went forth on the day of the Rāwandiyyah revolt. Had a stray arrow struck me, I would have perished. I went off to Syria; had but two swords clashed in Iraq, the caliphate would have perished."

It has been said that Maʿn b. Zāʾidah was in hiding from Abū Jaʿfar because of the blame he bore for the repeated battles he fought, together with Ibn Hubayrah,[321] against the ʿAbbāsid partisans. Marzūq Abū al-Khaṣīb helped Maʿn to go into hiding and tried to seek protection for him. At the time of the Rāwandiyyah insurrection, Maʿn came to the caliph's gate and took a stand there. When al-Manṣūr asked Abū al-Khaṣīb, then the caliph's [133]
chamberlain, who was at the gate, he replied, "Maʿn b. Zāʾidah." At this al-Manṣūr exclaimed, "A man of the Arabs, stronghearted, well-versed in warfare, and of able pedigree—show him

316. Cf. Qurʾān 44:47: *fa-iʿtilūhu ilā sawāʾ al-jaḥīm.*

317. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rukānah, whom Ṭabarī cites only one other time, when recounting the events of the year 145.

318. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, succeeded Yaḥyā al-Barmakī as Hārūn al-Rashīd's vizier and retained that position during the reign of al-Amīn. He died in 207/822–23 or 208/823–24. *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel); Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 183–94; Chejne, "Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ," 237–44.

319. Al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus. See note 162.

320. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kharaqa*.

321. Abū Khālid Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī (d. 132/750) was the last Umayyad governor of Iraq. He was killed after the battle of Wāsiṭ by order of Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, II, 1984, III, 68–71; *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); *EI*², s.v. (J. -C. Vadet), where the name is given as Yūsuf b. ʿUmar; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 207–8.

in!" When he entered al-Manṣūr said, "Tell me now, Maʿn, what ought we to do?" "I think that you should summon the people to arms," replied Maʿn, "and order them to be paid." Al-Manṣūr retorted, "Where would we get the people and the resources? Who would willingly venture to lay himself open to these infidels! You should not do anything [at all], Maʿn. It would be better if I were to go out and take a stand. When the people see me they will fight and prove valiant, rallying to me and pulling themselves together. If, however, I stay inside here they will become slack and careless." Taking his hand Maʿn said, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, if you do, you could be killed immediately. In God's name I implore you to think of yourself." Abū al-Khaṣīb came forward and said much the same thing to the caliph. Snatching his cloak from their grasp, Abū Jaʿfar called for his horse and leapt astride without using the stirrup. Then he adjusted his garments and headed out with Maʿn holding his bridle and Abū al-Khaṣīb at his stirrup. The caliph took his stand, and immediately a man came at him, at which the caliph said, "O Maʿn, look to that ruffian!" Maʿn fought him strenuously to the death and then did the same to four more, one right after another. The people rallied back to Abū Jaʿfar and braced themselves for the fray, and in not more than an hour annihilated the Rāwandiyyah. After that Maʿn disappeared. At this Abū Jaʿfar said to Abū al-Khaṣīb, "You'd better tell me where Maʿn is!" "God's truth," he answered, "I have no idea where on earth he is." Continued Abū Jaʿfar, "Does he suppose that the Commander of the Faithful will not forgive his offense after his bravery [today]? Give him a guarantee of safe-conduct and have him come to me." Abū al-Khaṣīb did so, and the caliph commanded that Maʿn be given 10,000 dirhams and [subsequently] made him governor of the Yemen.[322] [At that time] Abū al-Khaṣīb said to him, "Maʿn has already divided up what you gave him and won't have the means to do anything." "Were he to propose your [own] worth's equivalence a thousand times," retorted the caliph, "he could accomplish it."

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322. More detail on the conditions of this appointment is provided in Ṭabarī, III, 393–95.

In this year Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr sent his son, Muḥammad,[323] who was then heir apparent,[324] to Khurāsān in command of the troops. He ordered him to settle at al-Rayy, which Muḥammad did. [134]

In this year Abū Ja'far's governor of Khurāsān, 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, renounced his allegiance.[325]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—someone (unspecified) who told him—Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī: When al-Manṣūr heard that 'Abd al-Jabbār was killing the Khurāsānī leaders, and received a letter from one of them declaring that the situation was ripe for insurrection,[326] he said to Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī, "'Abd al-Jabbār has destroyed our base of support (*shī'atanā*), doing so only because he intends to withdraw his allegiance." In response Abū Ayyūb said to the caliph, "How petty is his trickery! Write and tell him that you intend to make a raid against Byzantium so that he should send you the Khurāsānī forces together with their cavalry and commanders. When they have left Khurāsān, then send whomever you wish against the rebels. He will be unable to refuse this." Abū Ja'far agreed and wrote accordingly. In answer 'Abd al-Jabbār wrote, "The Turks have been stirred up. If you disperse the troops, Khurāsān will be lost." Tossing the letter at Abū Ayyūb, Abū Ja'far asked what he advised now and was told, "He's played into your hands! Write and tell him: 'As Khurāsān is more important to me than anything else, I am sending on to you my own forces.' Then dispatch the troops to him so that they will be in Khurāsān and, if he is at the point of renouncing allegiance, they can grab him by the neck." Upon receipt of that letter 'Abd

323. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, whose regnal title was al-Mahdī, was the third 'Abbāsid caliph. *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī (H. Kennedy); S. Moscati, "Studi storici"; Omar, "Observations."

324. *Wa-huwa yawma'idhin waliyyu 'ahdin.* At the time of his death al-Saffāḥ had designated 'Īsā b. Mūsā to succeed Abū Ja'far. The latter's successful efforts to dislodge 'Īsā in favor his own son Muḥammad are placed by Ṭabarī among the events of year 147. See also Kennedy, "Succession Disputes," 29–33.

325. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 228–29; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 227–30; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 445–46; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 505–6; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 76; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, III, 396–97; Agapius, *Kitāb al-'unwān*, 376; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 613–15; Omar, *'Abbāsid Caliphate*, 203–8.

326. *Qad naghila al-adīmu.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naghila*.

al-Jabbār wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, "The situation in Khurāsān has never been worse than this year. The troops will die if they come to Khurāsān, because of the shortages and high prices they will encounter here." When the letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, he threw it at Abū Ayyūb, saying, "Now he has really shown his hand and renounced his allegiance; debate with him no more."

Abū Jaʿfar then sent Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr against ʿAbd al-Jabbār with orders to encamp at al-Rayy. Al-Mahdī[327] went there
[135] and sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah ahead to fight as his vanguard[328] while he himself moved on to an encampment at Naysābūr. When the people of Marw al-Rūdh heard that Khāzim b. Khuzaymah had advanced against ʿAbd al-Jabbār, they moved [also] against him from their own district. Declaring war on him, they fought a fierce battle that ended in the rebel's defeat. He fled as a fugitive, finding refuge in a cotton plantation (*maʿṭabah*)[329] where he went into hiding. One of the people of Marw al-Rūdh, al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim,[330] came across him there and took him prisoner. When Khāzim arrived, al-Mujashshir brought ʿAbd al-Jabbār to him. Khāzim, in turn, dressed him in a woolen shift[331] and mounted him on a camel, with his face to the camel's rump,[332] all the way to al-Manṣūr. With him were his sons and confederates, who were extensively tortured. They were then beaten with whips until the caliph had extracted from them what moneys he could, at which point he commanded al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr[333]

327. The contention that Abū Jaʿfar gave this title to his son in order to counter its application to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (Ṭabarī, III, 209) remains a subject of debate. See Zaman, "Revolutionary Charisma," 257–64; Bacharach, "*Laqab* for a Future Caliph."

328. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 446, he sent ʿUsayd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī.

329. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX, for *maqṭanah*; *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaṭiba*.

330. Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim Abū al-ʿAddabas al-Sulamī was a Khurāsānī military commander who first appears in Ṭabarī as suggesting Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī's siege against the Soghdians. Ṭabarī, II, 1241, and *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCLXXXIV, for this amended form of the name.

331. A *midraʿah* was a coarsely woven tunic normally worn by slaves. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 177–82, and *Supplément*, I, 434.

332. A well-practiced form of humiliation; cf. Sharon, *Black Banners*, 123 n. 83; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 615.

333. Musayyab b. Zuhayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī (d. 175/791), an ʿAbbāsid *nazīr al-nuqabāʾ* who served under Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, was head of the *shurṭah* for al-

to chop ʿAbd al-Jabbār's hands and feet off and then to behead him. Al-Musayyab did so. Al-Manṣūr further commanded that ʿAbd al-Jabbār's sons be sent to Dahlak,[334] an island just off the coast of the Yemen, where they remained until attacked by raiders from al-Hind and taken prisoner as part of a larger group. Eventually they [i.e., members of the group] were ransomed, with some being saved. The son of ʿAbd al-Jabbār was among those rescued. He was registered on the *dīwān* [i.e., for a stipend]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār became the companion of caliphs, and remained thus until he died in Egypt during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashīd][335] in 170.

In this year the [re]building of al-Maṣṣīṣah[336] was brought to completion by Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā al-Khurāsānī,[337] and Muḥammad, the son of Ibrāhīm the Imām,[338] took up a frontier posting in Malaṭyah.

The sources offer differing accounts of the affair involving ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Al-Wāqidī said that the episode occurred in 142, while others have said it was in 141.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: ʿAbd al-Jabbār arrived in [136]
Khurāsān on the tenth of Rabīʿ I in 141[339]—some sources say that

Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, and Hārūn al-Rashīd and governor of Khurāsān and the Jazīrah for al-Mahdī. He died at Minā and was buried at al-ʿAqabah. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 219; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 687, 697; Crone, *Slaves*, 186–87; *Ziriklī, Aʿlām*, VII, 225.

334. Dahlak is an island archipelago that actually lies closer to the coast of Ethiopia. *EI²*, s.v. (S. H. Longrigg); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 72; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 492.

335. Hārūn al-Rashīd, the grandson of al-Manṣūr, was the fifth ʿAbbāsid caliph, ruling 170–93/786–809. *EI²*, s.v. (F. Omar).

336. Classical Mopsuestis and present-day Misis, al-Maṣṣīṣah was a town on the west bank of the Jayḥān about twenty-five kilometers north of the Mediterranean coast. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 166, al-Manṣūr built a great mosque there and called the city al-Maʿmūrah. *EI²*, s.v. (E. Honigmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 9; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 144–45; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 306.

337. Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī, a Khurāsānī officer, in 147/764–75 led an unsuccessful attempt to repel a Turkish attack on Armenia and later served as governor of Samarqand. Ṭabarī, III, 328, 459; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 222; Crone, *Slaves*, 179.

338. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 185/801–2), son of the ʿAbbāsid family leader who was executed by order of Marwān II in 132/748, served various terms as governor of Mecca and Medina. Ṭabarī, II, 1716, III, 385; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 88–89.

339. Friday, July 21, 758.

it was on the fourteenth[340]—and was put to flight on Saturday, the sixth of Rabīʿ I in 142.[341]

According to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith[342]—Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ:[343] When al-Manṣūr sent al-Mahdī to al-Rayy—this occurred before the building of Bagdad—he sent him to fight ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Al-Mahdī, however, took care of the situation through others who actually did the fighting and defeated ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Abū Jaʿfar was unwilling that the expenses provided for al-Mahdī should be wasted, so he wrote telling him to raid Ṭabaristān, to encamp at al-Rayy, and to dispatch Abū al-Khaṣīb and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah with troops against the Iṣbahbadh.[344] At that time the Iṣbahbadh was feuding with the Maṣmughān, the king of Dunbāwand, and was encamped opposite him. Word reached the Iṣbahbadh that the caliph's troops had entered his territory and that Abū al-Khaṣīb had moved into Sāriyah.[345] That news, in turn, greatly troubled the Maṣmughān, who said to the Iṣbahbadh: "When they come against you, they come against me." With this they agreed to wage war against the Muslims. The Iṣbahbadh went off to his home territory and fought lengthy battles against the Muslims.

Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ,[346] of whom Bashshār [b. Burd][347] says:

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340. Tuesday, July 25, 758.

341. Sunday, July 7, 759.

342. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Ḥārith b. al-Mubārak al-Khazzāz or al-Kharrāz (d. 258/872) was a student of al-Madāʾinī and a prominent Baghdādī poet, littérateur, and historian. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, I, 186; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, I, 109; *GAS*, I, 318–19; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 947.

343. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī (d. 240/854), known as Shabāb, was a Baṣran historian and the third generation of a line of distinguished *muḥaddithūn*. EI^2, s.v. (S. Zakkar); *GAS*, I, 110; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 143–44.

344. For other accounts, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 506–7; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 229; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 338–39; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 447; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 397.

345. Sāriyah is a town (now Sārī) in Ṭabaristān about sixty-five kilometers east of Āmul. Le Strange, *Lands*, 370; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 143; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 232; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 170–71.

346. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ, originally a butcher from al-Rayy, fought with Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī against Sunbādh and later served as governor of Ṭabaristān for al-Mahdī. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 246; *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247; Ṭabarī, III, 500, 520; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 54; Rabino di Borgomale, "Préfets du Califat," 252–53.

347. Abū Muʿādh was a blind Baṣran poet who was active in the literary life of Baghdad from its founding until his violent death in 169/785–86. EI^2, s.v. (R. Blachère); Ṭabarī, III, 538–39.

If you come to him as counselor—a useless task
for the misquided—say to the caliph:
When enemy wars awaken you,
rouse ʿUmar for them and rest again,
A fine young man who does not easily forget a grudge
and drinks no water unmixed with blood.

The caliph sent ʿUmar at the suggestion of the Maṣmughān's brother, Abarwīz,[348] who said to him, "O Commander of the [137] Faithful, ʿUmar knows the land of Ṭabaristān better than anyone, so send him." Abarwīz had come to know ʿUmar during the period of Sunbādh's revolt and that of the Rāwandiyyah. Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to join ʿUmar, who entered and conquered al-Rūyān.[349] He then took the citadel of al-Ṭāq,[350] as well as its contents, in a protracted battle. Waging a relentless war, Khāzim conquered Ṭabaristān and killed many of its inhabitants. Subsequently the Iṣbahbadh entered his citadel and appealed for clemency on the condition that he surrender the stronghold with all his treasures. Al-Mahdī wrote Abū Jaʿfar to that effect, so the caliph dispatched Ṣāliḥ, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā,*[351] with a team who inventoried the fortress contents and then left. Accepting this, the Iṣbahbadh went on to the district of Jīlān[352] in the province of Daylam,[353] where he eventually

348. He is cited as son of the Maṣmughān on p. 65.

349. Al-Rūyān is the name of a town and a mountainous region immediately north of al-Rayy. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 104–5; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 142; Le Strange, *Lands*, 373–74; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 233.

350. A. D. H. Bivar (*EI*², s.v. Ḥiṣn. ii. Iran) cites Yāqūt, describing this fortress as "surrounded by unscaleable mountains and entered only by a long tunnel. The entrance was closed by a stone so large that 500 men were required to move it. Inside the fortress was a stream of water." Bivar cites Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī's *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān* in locating al-Ṭāq "to the south of Sārī, beyond the gorge of Kūlā." Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 6.

351. According to Sourdel, "Questions," 131–32, 146, the *muṣallā* was the prayer carpet used to cover the caliph's seat and thus one of the royal insignia; the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā* was the palace official charged with its care and placement. Ṣāliḥ served from the reign of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 367, 576; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 439–40; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 100; Lassner, *Shaping*, 217.

352. Jīlān was the region of Persia that lay south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Alburz range. *EI*², s.v. Gīlān (B. Spuler); Le Strange, *Lands*, 172–75; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 201–2.

353. Daylam was the mountainous region behind the Jīlān coastal area. At various times both terms *Jīlān* and *Daylam* were used to designate the province at

died.[354] The Iṣbahbadh's daughter was taken captive, later becoming the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.[355] The force then turned their attention to the Maṣmughān. Finally, they seized him along with al-Baḥtariyyah,[356] who became the mother of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī,[357] and ṢM?R/Ṣ?MR,[358] [also] the daughter of the Maṣmughān, who became ʿAlī b. Rayṭah's[359] concubine. This was the first conquest of Ṭabaristān.

When the Maṣmughān died, the inhabitants of that mountainous region became wild men (*ḥūziyyah*),[360] reverting to a savage state like the asses of the wilderness.

In this year Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī was dismissed as governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī[361] was put in charge of Medina, arriving there

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the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea. The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī designated the entire southern rim of the Caspian, including Ṭabaristān, as Daylam. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 173; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 140; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 544.

354. An alternative account of his subsequent activities and eventual suicide is provided in year 142.

355. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839) held power in Baghdad as an anticaliph for about two years during the reign of his nephew, al-Ma'mūn. After a period in hiding, he was eventually discovered, imprisoned, and then pardoned. *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel), where his mother's name is give as Shiklah; but see Ṭabarī, III, 140.

356. The name is offered tentatively as Bakhtariyyah by Minorsky, *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān. She is later identified in Ṭabarī, III, 140, as the niece of the Iṣbahbadh. See also Vasmer, "Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns," 87, 100; Le Strange, *Lands*, 371–72.

357. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 236/850), son of the third ʿAbbāsid caliph, accepted the military command (*imrah*) of Baghdad in 201/816 but refused to compromise the caliphate of his uncle, al-Ma'mūn, by acting as anticaliph. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 278; Ṭabarī, III, 1001; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 303.

358. This name is offered tentatively as Ṣmyr by Minorsky, *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 511, gives the radicals ṢYMR.

359. Rayṭah was the daughter of Abū al-ʿAbbās and bore two sons to al-Mahdī, whose names were ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh. The former led the Pilgrimage in 164 and 168. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180; Ṭabarī, III, 501, 522; *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī (H. Kennedy).

360. Or *ḥawziyyah*. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥāza*.

361. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, son of an Umayyad governor of Mecca and Iraq, rebelled in al-Kūfah in favor of the ʿAbbāsid cause after Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb's death in 132/749–50. *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (G. R. Hawting); Ṭabarī, III, 18–20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 138, 143.

in the month of Rajab. The Khurāsānī, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAtakī, was made governor of al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca.

In this year Mūsā b. Kaʿb[362] died. He had been al-Manṣūr's prefect of police, governor of Egypt, and governor of al-Hind.[363] He was succeeded there by his son, ʿUyaynah.[364] [138]

In this year Mūsā b. Kaʿb was dismissed as governor of Egypt.[365] Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was then appointed governor, but he, in turn, was dismissed from the post, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was named governor.[366]

Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, the governor of Qinnasrīn,[367] Ḥimṣ,[368] and Damascus, led the Prilgrimage in this year.

The governor of Medina was Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī; of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah; of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah; in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah was Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of

362. Mūsā b. Kaʿb al-Tamīmī, a leading member of the ʿAbbāsid revolution as *naqīb* and officer, served as head of the *shurṭah* for both al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and as governor of Egypt for the latter. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445; Crone, *Slaves*, 186.

363. More properly, of the province of al-Sind; *al-Hind* generally referred to that part of India that lay beyond the Muslim conquests. *EI*², s.v. al-Hind. i (S. Maqbul Ahmad).

364. ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā was an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī*; he served as deputy governor of India until the appearance of ʿUmar b. Ḥafs b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṣufrah. For the circumstances of this transfer of power, see under year 142 below. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 279.

365. For a recently discovered letter dated to this last year of his administration, see Hinds and Sakkout, "Letter from the Governor of Egypt."

366. Nawfal b. al-Furāt was actually charged with fiscal administration as *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* and made directly responsible to the caliph. Kindī, *Wulāh*, 108–9; Kennedy, "Central Government and Provincial Élites," 33.

367. Known in ancient times as Chalkis and mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud as Kannishrayyā, its ruins lie about twenty kilometers southwest of Aleppo. *EI*², s.v. (N. Elisséeff); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 11; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 403–4; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 450–77. For a recent study of its significance in the Muslim conquest of northern Syria, see Kaegi, *Byzantium*, 159–71.

368. Present-day Homs, this Syrian city lies about 140 kilometers north of Damascus. As Emesa, it was an ecclesiastical center in the patristic Christian period. *EI*², s.v. (N. Elisséeff); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 7; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 302–5; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 110–15.

Khurāsān was al-Mahdī, whose successor there was al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh,[369] while the governor of Egypt was Nawfal b. al-Furāt.

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369. Al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abbās was removed as governor of Mecca in 146/763–64. Ṭabarī, III, 328. For his defense of Mecca during Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's rebellion, see under year 145.

The Events of the Year 142

(May 4, 759–April 21, 760)

Among the events of this year was ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā b. Kaʿb's renunciation of allegiance in al-Sind.[370]

Why ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā b. Kaʿb Renounced His Allegiance

It has been said that the reason for his renunciation of allegiance was as follows:[371] Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr was the deputy to Mūsā b. Kaʿb as prefect of police, and when Mūsā died,[372] al-Musayyab took over the full office of his duties with the police forces. Fearing that al-Manṣūr would write to ʿUyaynah about

370. Al-Sind was the province surrounding the lower reaches of the Indus River; it covers roughly the same area as the modern Pakistani province of Sind. *EI*[1], s.v. (T. W. Haig).
371. Other sources include Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 448; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 509; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77–78; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398.
372. Cf. p. 75.

assuming these responsibilities and would appoint him rather than al-Musayyab, the latter wrote anonymously to ʿUyaynah a line of poetry:

[139] Your territory shall be your [final] plot of earth should you
come to us,
so sleep a sleep that holds no dreams.

When Abū Jaʿfar heard about ʿUyaynah's renunciation, he set out for an encampment with his army near the large embankment in al-Baṣrah[373] and dispatched ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī[374] to take over al-Sind and al-Hind and to fight ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā. Consequently, ʿUmar went off to al-Sind and al-Hind, where he took forcible control.[375]

In this year the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān abrogated the pact between the Muslims and himself, killing the Muslims who lived in his country.[376]

The Affair of the Iṣbahbadh and the Muslims

It is related that when Abū Jaʿfar heard the news about the Iṣbahbadh and what he had done to the Muslims, he sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim[377] against him, together with

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373. Perhaps the site of what came to be known as ʿAskar Abī Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 1843; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 25; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 122–23.

374. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī, known also as Hazārmard, (Persian, "thousand men") was part of the noted Muhallabī family and served as an ʿAbbāsid governor in al-Baṣrah, Baḥrayn, and Sind. He is especially remembered for his battles against the Khārijī rebel forces in Ifrīqiyah and died there in 154/771. In the section on year 151, Ṭabarī describes the ploy used by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to seek his allegiance. *EI*[1], s.v. ʿOmar b. Ḥafṣ (G. Marçais); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 230; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 190–91; Crone, *Slaves*, 134; Ṭabarī, III, 359–64.

375. For al-Manṣūr's relations with his governors in al-Sind, see Friedmann, "Early History of Islam in India," 316.

376. For other sources, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 338–39; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 509–10; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77–78; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398; *EI*[2], s.v. Dābūya (B. Spuler); Madelung "Minor Dynasties."

377. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah al-Muhallabī (d. 174/791) fought for the ʿAbbāsids at Wāsiṭ and served various governorships for the first five ʿAbbāsid caliphs. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 149, the only other person with such a record was Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who held appointments under the Prophet and

Marzūq (i.e., Abū al-Khaṣīb, the *mawlā* of Abū Ja'far). They besieged the Iṣbahbadh's fortress, blockading him and those who were there with him until the stalemate became too prolonged. So Abū al-Khaṣīb resorted to a stratagem to solve the matter. He first told his confederates to beat him and shave his head and beard, which they did, and then he made his way to the Iṣbahbadh, the commander of the fortress. Abū Khaṣīb said to him, "I have been treated atrociously; I was beaten and my head and beard were shaved." "My confederates did that," he continued, "on the mere suspicion that my sympathies lie with you." Abū al-Khaṣīb went on to tell the Iṣbahbadh that he was on his side and would point out the weak spot in the Muslim campsite.

The Iṣbahbadh accepted Abū Kaṣīb's proposal, making him one of his close circle and showing him special favor. Now the gate of their city consisted of a single rock, counterweighted, which men raised and lowered when the gate was opened or closed. The Iṣbahbadh had charged his most trusted associates with this task, rotating the duty among them. Abū al-Khaṣīb therefore said to him, "It seems to me that you neither trust me nor accept my [140]
sincerity!" "What gives you that idea?" asked the Iṣbahbadh. "The reason is," replied Abū al-Khaṣīb, "that you neither ask me to help with what concerns you most nor do you authorize me to do what you entrust only to your most reliable men." After that the Iṣbahbadh began to seek Abū al-Khaṣīb's help and was sufficiently pleased with what he saw to trust him enough to place him among those who took turns in opening and closing the gate of his city. Abū Khaṣīb carried out that duty for the Iṣbahbadh, winning the latter's full confidence. At this point Abū al-Khaṣīb wrote a letter to Rawḥ b. Ḥātim and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, placed it in an arrow, and shot it to them. He informed them that this trickery had been successful and gave them a designated night when he would open the gate. In the course of the appointed night, the gate was opened for the caliph's forces, and they killed the warriors inside the city, taking the the children captive. Al-Baḥtariyyah, who became the mother of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, was

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the four Rāshidūn. In Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 249, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim is mentioned as one of those whom Abū Ja'far sent against Mulabbad b. Ḥarmalah. See the section on year 138.

seized. Her mother was Bākand,[378] daughter of the Iṣbahbadh known as al-Aṣamm ["the Deaf"], not the Iṣbahbadh who was king; that title was held by Bākand's brother. Shaklah,[379] who became the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, was also taken. She was the daughter of Kharnābān,[380] al-Maṣmughān's steward. The Iṣbahbadh killed himself by licking a seal he possessed that contained poison.

Some sources say that Rawḥ b. Ḥātim and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah entered Ṭabaristān in 143.

In this year al-Manṣūr had the *qiblah* built in al-Ḥimmān[381] for the people of al-Baṣrah, i.e., the prayer orientation for their feast day.[382] He charged Salamah b. Saʿīd b. Jābir with its construction;
[141] at that time Salamah was Abū Jaʿfar's representative for the Euphrates district and al-Ubullah.[383] After fasting for the month of Ramaḍān, Abū Jaʿfar said the ritual prayer at the *qiblah* of al-Ḥimmān on the day of [ʿĪd] al-Fiṭr.[384]

In this year on Friday night, 21 Jumādā II,[385] Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh died in al-Baṣrah at the age of fifty-nine.[386] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī said the prayers of the dead for him.

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378. A Persian word meaning "ruby." Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 149.

379. Sourdel, *EI²*, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, gives the name as Shiklah. Minorsky, *EI²*, s.v. al-Maṣmughān, follows the Leiden text's spelling but suggests the identification of this woman with the daughter of al-Maṣmughān mentioned on p. 74.

380. In the Leiden text the fourth consonant is unmarked. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 513, reads "Khūnādān."

381. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 300, identifies this as a place near al-Baṣrah that takes it name from the Banū Ḥimmān b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 75, II, 324. Ibn Kathīr *Bidāyah*, X, 78, gives the place name as al-Jabbān.

382. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 78.

383. Al-Ubullah, originally a town east of al-Baṣrah on the right bank of the Tigris, is now part of the present-day city of al-Baṣrah. The Nahr al-Ubullah was the main canal connecting al-Baṣrah to the Tigris. *EI¹*, s.v. al-Obolla (J. H. Kramers); *EI²*, s.v. al-Baṣra (C. Pellat); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 76–78; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 12–13.

384. The feast of 1 Shawwāl, which celebrates completion of the fast of Ramaḍān. *EI²*, s.v. (E. Mittwoch).

385. October 19, 759; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 446, cites his death as in the year 141. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 248–49, gives "quando rimanevano sette giorni di [22] Gumāda II = 20 ottobre 759."

386. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 421, for the year 158, where Sulaymān is listed as one of the paternal uncles to whom al-Manṣūr gave a million dirhams.

In this year Nawfal b. al-Furāt was dismissed as governor of Egypt and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was given that position. Then Muḥammad was dismissed from the post, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was reappointed. Finally, Nawfal was dismissed, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was charged with the governorship.

Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās led the Pilgrimage this year. The governor of Medina was Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, and of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah. The governor of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah; of its judiciary, Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of Egypt was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah.

In this year, according to al-Wāqidī, Abū Jaʿfar appointed his brother, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, governor of the Jazīrah and the Byzantine frontiers (*al-thughūr*)[387] and placed a number of the army commanders under his jurisdiction. He stayed there for some time.

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387. The *thughūr* were the fortresses guarding the frontier zone in Syria and Mesopotamia. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 79–81.

The Events of the Year 143

(April 22, 760–April 10, 761)

In this year al-Manṣūr authorized the people to raid the territory of Daylam.[388]

The Raid on al-Daylam

It is said that when Abū Ja'far had news from al-Daylam that the
[142] Daylamites were assaulting and killing Muslims in a large-scale massacre, he dispatched Ḥabīb b. 'Abdallāh b. Rughbān to al-Baṣrah. At that time Ismā'īl b. 'Alī was the governor of al-Baṣrah.[389] The caliph ordered Ismā'īl to to make a list of all those in al-Baṣrah who had 10,000 dirhams or more and to enjoin each of those who possessed that sum to go forth personally to wage

388. For other accounts see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 512; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 80.

389. Ṭabarī, III, 124, records Sulaymān b. 'Alī as the predecessor to Sufyān b. Mu'āwiyah, while Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, gives 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī.

war (*jihād*)[390] against al-Daylam. Abū Jaʿfar sent someone else to al-Kūfah for the same purpose.

In this year al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah was dismissed as governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, and al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was appointed in his stead. His commission for that post reached al-Sarī while he was in al-Yamāmah.[391] He went to Mecca, therefore, and Abū Jaʿfar sent to al-Yamāmah Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh[392] b. ʿAbbās.

In this year Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was dismissed as governor of Egypt, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was appointed. Then Nawfal was dismissed, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim appointed.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh[393] b. ʿAbbās, who was then governor of al-Kūfah and its Sawād, led the Pilgrimage in this year. The governor of Mecca was al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith. Al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts were under the jursidiction of Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah, while its judiciary was administered by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. Yazīd b. Ḥātim governed Egypt.

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390. While this term has acquired spiritual connotations within developed Islamic thought, it retains the signification of military action for the expansion and defense of Muslim territory. *EI²*, s.v. (E. Tynan).

391. Al-Yamāmah is a distrct in central Arabia that now includes the region around Riyāḍ. *EI¹*, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 441–48.

392. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX.

393. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 516, gives ʿUbaydallāh.

The
Events of the Year
144
(April 11, 761–March 31, 762)

Among the events of this year was the raid against Daylam, which Muḥammad, the son of Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, i.e., the son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful,[394] made against Daylam with troops drawn from al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ,[395] al-Mawṣil, and the Jazīrah.

[143] In this year Muḥammad b. Abī Jaʿfar, al-Mahdī, left Khurāsān for Iraq. Abū Jaʿfar went to Qarmāsīn,[396] where his son Muḥam-

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394. According to the Leiden text: Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 314, he was known as Abū al-Dibs ("syrup") because he put so much perfume on his beard that it dripped. In 147/764–65 he was poisoned at the instigation of al-Manṣūr, and he died in Baghdad, mourned by his wife al-Baghūm b. ʿAlī b. al-Rabīʿ. Ṭabarī, III, 352, 422–23; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180–81, which offers a variant explanation for his nickname.

395. Wāsiṭ was the Umayyad stronghold in Iraq created by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. EI^1, s.v. (M. Streck); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 347–53.

396. Qarmāsīn, present-day Kirmānshāh, is an Iranian town that lies southwest of Hamadhān. EI^2, s.v. Kirmānshāh (A. K. S. Lambton); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 330; Le Strange, *Lands*, 186–87.

mad met him on the way from Khurāsān. Together they departed for the Jazīrah.

In this year, on his arrival in Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Abī Jaʿfar consummated his marriage with Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās,[397] his paternal first cousin.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage in this year, having appointed Khāzim b. Khuzaymah as deputy commander of his army camp and of his storehouse.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān al-Murrī[398] governor of Medina and relieved Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī of that post.[399]

The Reason Abū Jaʿfar Dismissed Muḥammad b. Khālid and Appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, Having Removed Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī at the Instance of Muḥammad b. Khālid

The reason why the caliph dismissed Ziyād as governor of Medina is as follows: Abū Jaʿfar was preoccupied with the problem of Muḥammad[400] and Ibrāhīm,[401] the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib,[402] and with their absence from his au-

397. She bore two sons to Muḥammad and is described by Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180, as a person of strength and power. Ṭabarī, III, 445–46, relates a macabre incident involving Rayṭah and her husband at the time of Abū Jaʿfar's death.

398. Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī was formerly charged with Damascus under Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī as governor of Syria. Further details of Riyāḥ's appointment to the post in Medina are related below, text III, 161–63. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 157; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 219–20.

399. Additional sources for the events antecedent to the Ḥasanid rebellions are: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 230–37; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 450–52; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123–24; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 180–81; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 198–202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 513–28; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 164–65; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 80–82; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398–404.

400. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, known as "the Pure Soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyyah*), was the great-great-grandson of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah through their son Ḥasan. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

401. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was the full brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh through their mother Hind b. Abī ʿUbaydah and was a corevolutionary with him. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri), and *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

402. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was the acknowledged elder of the Ḥasanids. During the reign of the Umayyad Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he was praised and accorded favor by the caliph, while during the ca-

dience with the rest of the Banū Hāshim who had paid their allegiance to him during the life of his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās, in the year when he had made the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muslim.

It has been recounted that Muḥammad used to say that Abū Jaʿfar was among those who rendered the oath of allegiance to him on the night when the Banū Hāshim, together with the rest of the Muʿtazilah[403] who were there with them, deliberated in Mecca about whom they should choose as caliph.[404] (This was at the time when the situation of the Marwānids was unstable.) Abū Jaʿfar asked about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, and Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh said to him, "How worried you are about them! I will bring them to you." At that time Ziyād was together with Abū Jaʿfar during the latter's arrival in Mecca in the year 136. Abū
[144] Jaʿfar reinstalled Ziyād as governor [of Medina] and made him responsible for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

According to Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah[405]—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl[406]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān[407]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUbaydah

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liphate of Hishām he was permitted to argue his claim to the endowments of his great-grandfather, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, against his cousin Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. He was known as al-Maḥḍ ("the Pureblooded") because of his unblemished Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid descent. (His mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn). This claim to lineage purity was to become a contentious issue between ʿAbdallāh and Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, II, 1338, 1671; *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179–84; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 78.

403. The Muʿtazilah were a religio-political movement that was the official theological school in the first half of the ninth century. The origin of the name is a matter of conjecture, and the group's history in this early period can only be reconstructed from sources of a later date. *ER*, s.v. (Josef van Ess). For the putative (but dubious) ʿAbbāsid-Muʿtazilah connection, see Cahen, "Points de vue," 321–22; H. S. Nyberg (*EI*¹, s.v. Muʿtazila); and Omar, *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 127–34.

404. See Van Arendonk, *Debuts*, 46–52=*Opkomst*, 41–47, which includes a discussion of Muʿtazilī involvements in the rebellions of both Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm; and Omar, "Aspects," 171.

405. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah b. ʿAbīdah b. Rayṭah (or ʿAbdah b. Rāʾiṭah) al-Numayrī was a Baṣran poet, traditionist, and historian who died in Sāmarrāʾ in 264/877. He serves as Ṭabarī's principal source for the events of the ʿAlid uprising. *GAL*, S I, 209; *GAS*, I, 345–46; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1117; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 47–48; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 462; Nagel, "Bericht", 230–33. For other variants of his name, see Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XII, 369 n. 2.

406. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Jaʿfarī was a grandson of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, brother to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Nagel, "Bericht," 244; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 237.

407. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān b. al-Madanī al-Aʿraj was known as Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhrī. His death date is given as 197/812–13 or, more vaguely, as in the late

b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir:[408] When Abū Jaʿfar was appointed caliph, his sole concern was searching for Muḥammad, making inquiries about him and about his intentions. He summoned the entire Banū Hāshim, man by man, speaking to each of them privately and asking about Muḥammad. "Commander of the Faithful," they kept saying, "he well knows that you are aware of the fact that he sought this position before today.[409] While he fears you for his own sake, he neither intends conflict with you nor wishes to be disobedient to you." Each made a similar speech, except Ḥasan b. Zayd,[410] who gave the caliph his own account, saying, "By God, I don't feel secure against the possibility of his making an assault against you, for he is certainly someone who does not sleep for thought of you, so take prudent care." Ibn Abī ʿUbaydah's account goes: "Be on guard against one who never sleeps."

According to Muḥammad: I heard my grandfather, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh[411] say, "O God, seek out Ḥasan b. Zayd for our bloodshed." Mūsā himself said, "By God, I heard my father say 'I testify to the fact that Abū Jaʿfar informed me of something that only Ḥasan b. Zayd had heard from me.' "

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān:[412] Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Sulamī told me that my father said, "Abū Jaʿfar told me something that only my brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, and

160s or 170s. As a *muḥaddith* he was judged weak or untrustworthy by most authorities. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 537; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 440–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 312–13.

408. During the reign of al-Mahdī, he was brought before the caliph as a suspected Qadarī. Ṭabarī, III, 534.

409. *Bi-ṭalabi hādhā al-shaʾni qabla al-yawm*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX.

410. Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 168/784) was appointed governor of Medina in 150/767–68, a post that he held for five years. He subsequently lost favor with the caliph, who imprisoned him in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 358, 377; *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VII, 309–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 243–44; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 191.

411. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, lived until the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 390–97; Nagel, "Bericht," 243–44; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 324.

412. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was a nephew of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm whose sister was Ibrāhīm's wife. For his father, whose sobriquet was "the Brocade," see note 592. Ṭabarī, III, 173–79.

Ḥasan b. Zayd heard from me. I testify that ʿAbdallāh did not
[145] tell it to the caliph, nor does the latter have knowledge of the hidden."[413]

According to Muḥammad: In the year when he made the Pilgrimage, Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan about Muḥammad's whereabouts, but ʿAbdallāh gave him the standard Hāshimī speech. The caliph told him that he would not be satisfied until ʿAbdallāh brought Muḥammad to him.

According to Muḥammad—his mother[414]—her father[415]—his father:[416] I said to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, "O my brother, you know that I am related to you by marriage and kinship, so what do you think?" Sulaymān said, "By God, it is as though I could look at ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī[417] at the time when the veil has passed between us and he is signaling to us, 'This is what you have done to me. If he [Abū Jaʿfar] were a forgiving person, surely he would forgive his uncle.' " Sulaymān accepted ʿAbdallāh's opinion. Muḥammad continued: The family of ʿAbdallāh [b. Ḥasan] came to see this as establishing a close connection for them with Sulaymān.

According to Abū Zayd—Saʿīd b. Huraym[418]—Kulthūm al-Marāʾī—Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak:[419] Abū Jaʿfar bought some slaves held by the bedouins. He gave one of them a camel, another two camels, and a third several camels. Then he sent them in different directions to search for Muḥammad in the hinterlands of Medina. Any one of them would appear at some watering place as though a passerby or one lost, and they would seek information about him and spy about.

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413. A further account of Ḥasan b. Zayd's mode of operation is given in text, III, 149–50.

414. Ruqayyah bt. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 237.

415. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh.

416. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.

417. For the account of his revolt against Abū Jaʿfar, see pp. 8–18.

418. Saʿīd b. Huraym al-Kātib was affiliated with the Bayt al-Ḥikmah during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and renowned for his eloquence. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 269.

419. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, a governor of Ādharbayjān for al-Manṣūr, is most noted as the powerful vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd who eventually fell from favor and died in prison in 190/805. *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 127–82.

According to Abū Zayd—Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī:[420] Al-Sindī,[421] the Commander of the Faithful's *mawlā*, said to me, "Do you know what elevated ʿUqbah b. Salm[422] in the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful?" When I expressed ignorance, he went on to explain: "My uncle, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, sent a delegation from al-Sind led by ʿUqbah. They entered Abū Jaʿfar's presence, and when they had concluded their petitions they got up to go. The caliph, however, asked ʿUqbah to stay behind and told him to sit down. Then the caliph said to him, 'Who are you?' 'A member of the Commander of the Faithful's army and his following,' ʿUqbah replied: 'I am an associate of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ.' 'What's your name?' asked the caliph. 'ʿUqbah b. [146] Salm b. Nāfiʿ,' he replied. 'Who are your people?' inquired the caliph. 'I am an Azdī of the Banū Hunāʾah.'[423] The caliph continued, 'I find you to be of prepossessing appearance and good standing. In fact, I want you for an affair that preoccupies me and for which I continue to seek a man. Perhaps you are just the person. If you can settle it for me, I shall elevate your rank.' ʿUqbah said, 'I hope that I can confirm the Commander of the Faithful's estimate of me.' 'Keep yourself hidden and keep quiet about your mission,' said the caliph; 'come back to me on a day and at a time I will designate.' ʿUqbah returned at the appointed time and the caliph said to him, 'These cousins of ours have insisted upon assailing our regnal authority and seizing it.[424] In Khurāsān they have a faction (*shīʿatun*) in such and such a village who corre-

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420. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī was governor of al-Baṣrah for al-Maʾmūn, who, according to Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 190, reimbursed him for the debt incurred by his extreme generosity there. He died in al-Baṣrah in 216/831. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VI, 181; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 183.

421. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī b. Shāhak was an ʿAbbāsid governor in Syria and later the member of Hārūn al-Rashīd's *shurṭah* responsible for multilating and displaying Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī's corpse in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 680; *EI*², s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī (C. Pellat); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 28; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 236–37.

422. ʿUqbah b. Salm b. Nāfiʿ al-Hunāʾī later supported al-Manṣūr's successful efforts to change the succession from his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to his own son al-Mahdī and is mentioned as governor of al-Baṣrah in 150/767–68. Ṭabarī, III, 344, 359; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40.

423. For Hunāʾah b. Mālik as a clan of Azd, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 211, II, 286; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 379.

424. *Kaydan li-mulkinā wa-ightiyālan lahu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kāda*.

spond with them and send contributions (*ṣadaqāt*)[425] to them of their wealth and fine local products. So leave here with some good fabrics, as well as various delicacies and specie, proceeding, in disguise and carrying a letter that you've written [as if] from the people of this village, until you reach them [i.e., ʿAbdallāh and those with him]. Then conduct an inspection of their area. If they really have broken away from their former way of thinking, then by all means show them affection and sheathe your sword. But if they maintain their posture, I shall know that and shall be cautious and wary.[426] Venture forth, then, until you make contact with ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, doing so with every appearance of being a homespun and humble fellow. If he rebuffs you—as well he might—then be patient and return to him again. If he does it again, remain patient until he becomes friendly with you and his attitude toward you softens. When you clearly see what is in his heart, hurry back to me.'

Al-Sindī continued: ʿUqbah journeyed until he reached ʿAbdallāh and met with him, letter in hand. ʿAbdallāh, however, refused to have anything to do with ʿUqbah and drove him away, saying, 'I don't know those people.' ʿUqbah kept going away and coming back to him until ʿAbdallāh finally accepted his letter and his fine things and grew friendly toward him. ʿUqbah asked him for the reply, but ʿAbdallāh said, 'I am not going to write a letter to anyone; you can be my letter to them. Greet them from me and tell them that my sons will come out in open opposition
[147] at such and such a time.' ʿUqbah then journeyed back to Abū Jaʿfar and gave him the report."[427]

According to Abū Zayd—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar[428]—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf: In the year 138 Abū Jaʿfar charged al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī with responsibility for the Pilgrimage celebrations, saying to him, "If your eye lights upon Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, make

425. *Ṣadaqāt* is a term that carries the technical sense of voluntary alms offered for pious motives. *EI*¹, s.v. Sadaḳa (T. H. Weir).

426. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 520, adds *minhum*.

427. The account is continued on p. 96, below.

428. Ayyūb b. ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān's father was asked to identify Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's severed head but pleaded confusion and was later released by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. See Ṭabarī, III, 249; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 580, for this vocalization.

sure they do not get away from you. If you don't see them, however, don't ask about them." Al-Faḍl arrived in Medina, and its entire populace came to meet him, including ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and the rest of the Ḥasanids, save Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Al-Faḍl said nothing until he had completed the Pilgrimage ritual. He then went on to al-Sayyālah,[429] where he said to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, "What kept your two sons from coming to meet me in company with their family?" "By God," rejoined ʿAbdallāh, "neither misgivings nor evil intentions prevented them. Rather, avid for the hunt and in pursuit of it, they were not present with their families for good reasons, not wicked ones." Al-Faḍl did not answer him but sat down on a bench that had been set up for him in al-Sayyālah. ʿAbdallāh ordered his herdsmen to pasture his camels for him, and he commanded one of them to draw milk over honey in a big tumbler and then to go up to the bench with it. ʿAbdallāh beckoned him to give the drink to al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, so the man went straight to him. When he drew close to him, al-Faḍl bawled at him angrily, saying, "Away with you, you sucker at your mother's clitoris."[430] At this the herdsman turned tail, and ʿAbdallāh, who was a very mild-mannered sort, jumped to his feet, reached for the cup and began to walk with it over to al-Faḍl. When the latter saw him walking toward him, he felt embarrassed before him, so he accepted the cup and drank.

According to Abū Zayd—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā[431]—his father—his father: Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh had a Kūfan secretary named Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar. He had Shīʿī sympathies and frustrated Ziyād's efforts to look for Muḥammad. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd[432] wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about him and had him brought down to the caliph.[433] [148]

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429. Al-Sayyālah was a stage on the route between Mecca and Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 292; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 85.

430. *Yā māṣṣa baẓrah ummihi*, which is repeated, in abbreviated form, by Abū Jaʿfar on III, 150.

431. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Kinānī (Abū Ghassān) was one of a family of Medinese *kātibs* and a respected *muḥaddith*. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 456–57; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 187; Nagel, "Bericht," 236–38.

432. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd (following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI) was a confidential agent for Abū Jaʿfar and custodian of the voluntary alms. Ṭabarī, III, 169.

433. *Fa-ḥaddarahu ilayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

Ziyād, however, wrote to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī[434] about his secretary, and the two of them freed him to return to Ziyād.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad reached al-Baṣrah covertly with forty men. They went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who said to him, "You have destroyed me and publicly exposed me. Stay with me but send your confederates away." Muḥammad, however, refused, so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, "You may not stay with me; go stay with the Banū Rāsib."[435] This Muḥammad did.

According to ʿUmar—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Sārī—Abū Habbār al-Muzanī:[436] We stayed in al-Baṣrah with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who summoned the people to his cause.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh:[437] Abū Jaʿfar said, "I crave absolutely nothing for myself when I remember the place of the Banū Rāsib in al-Baṣrah."

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl[438]—Ibn Jashīb al-Lihbī:[439] I stayed with the Banū Rāsib in the days of Ibn Muʿāwiyah,[440] and one day a young man from there asked me my name. One of their elders slapped him, saying, "What business is

434. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī al-Madānī became governor of Medina in 145/762–63. Ṭabarī, III, 265, 319; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24.

435. According to Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 202, the Banū Rāsib had "connections with previous pretenders, notably Ibn Hanafiya and ʿAbd Allah b. Muʿawiya." Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 327, II, 485.

436. Abū Habbār al-Muzanī was sent to warn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh about a spy sent over by Abū Jaʿfar but escaped caliphal punishment because of confusion about his name. Ṭabarī, III, 157–58.

437. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was known as al-Mubārak. His mother was Umm al-Ḥasan bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Bāqir. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 458; Ṭabarī, III, 25; Nagel, "Bericht," 242–43.

438. Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad (d. 212/828) was a Baṣran *muḥaddith* whose transmissions were regarded as trustworthy. *EI²*, Suppl., s.v. (C. Pellat); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 395–97; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 359–60.

439. Lihb b. Aḥjān were a clan of the Banū Azd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 210, II, 378.

440. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah was Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib's great-grandson. He asserted his claim to the imāmate in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and eventually attracted a sufficient following to win control of Fārs, Ḥulwān, Iṣfahān, and al-Rayy. He was probably executed by Abū Muslim, although other traditions mention his death by poisoning in Harāt. *EI²*, s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 67–68; Laoust, *Schismes*, 35–36.

it of yours?" Then he looked at an old man who was sitting in front of him and said, "Do you see this old man? His father settled with us in the days of al-Ḥajjāj[441] and remained until this son of his was born. That young man has now matured and reached this age and, by God, to this day we know neither his name, nor his father's name, nor who his people are!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl[442]—al-Zaʿfarānī:[443] Muḥammad arrived and stayed with ʿAbdallāh b. Shaybān, one of the Banū Murrah b. ʿUbayd. He remained for six days and then left. News of his arrival at al-Baṣrah having reached [149]
Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph advanced in great haste but halted at the Great Bridge. We urged ʿAmr[444] to go and meet him, but he refused until we became angry with him. At this he went and met with him. "O Abū ʿUthmān," said the caliph, "is there anyone in al-Baṣrah whom we should fear in respect of our dominion?" "No," replied ʿAmr. The caliph continued, "Should I be content with your word alone and leave?" ʿAmr responded affirmatively, so the caliph left. Muḥammad had, in fact, already left before the arrival of Abū Jaʿfar.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad:[445] Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, "Have you given an oath of allegiance to Muḥammad?" "By God," he replied, "were the people to give me authority over their affairs, I would not acknowledge any place for those two [i.e., Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm]."

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441. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), the famous Umayyad governor of Iraq. *EI²*, s.v. (A. Dietrich).

442. Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 226/840–41) was a prominent Muʿtazilī theologian and among the first systematicians of this school of thought. *EI²*, s.v. (H. S. Nyberg); *GAS*, I, 617–18.

443. Abū ʿAlī (Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1130, gives Abū Abdallāh) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Zaʿfarānī (d. 260/874) was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* and jurisprudent (*faqīh*), having studied with, among others, the jurisprudent al-Shāfiʿī. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, III, 284, Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 235; *GAS*, I, 491–92.

444. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Bāb (d. 144/761), an early Muʿtazilī, was a teacher of Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl; see note 442, above. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 208–12, recounts some of his conversations with al-Manṣūr at the caliph's court. *EI²*, s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

445. Abū al-Yaqẓān ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad (d. 190/805–6), also known by other names such as Suḥaym and ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ, was a noted historian and genealogist. *GAS*, I, 266–67; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 381; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, V, 53.

According to ʿAlī—Ayyūb al-Qazzāz: I said to ʿAmr, "What would you say about a man who was content to endure the loss of his claim?" "I am that man," he said. "How can that be?" I responded. "Were you to issue a summons [to the cause], thirty thousand would answer you!" "By God," he said, "I don't know where there are even three who, having spoken, do what they promise. Were I to know them, I would be a fourth for them."

According to Abū Zayd—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ[446]—his father: In dread of Abū Jaʿfar, Muḥammad and ʿIbrāhīm went to ʿAdan[447] and then to al-Sind, to al-Kūfah, and finally to Medina.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ziyād guaranteed the Commander of the Faithful that he would produce for him the two sons of ʿAbdallāh. The caliph therefore installed him as governor of Medina. When Ḥasan b. Zayd found out anything about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's situation, he kept quiet about it until they had left wherever they
[150] were. Then he would inform Abū Jaʿfar, and whatever traces he had mentioned would be found. The caliph accepted the truth of what Ziyād reported to him until the year 140. At that time Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage and distributed gifts (*qusūm*),[448] in which he especially favored the family of Abū Ṭālib. As the sons of ʿAbdallāh did not present themselves to him, he sent for ʿAbdallāh and asked about them. ʿAbdallāh expressed ignorance of their whereabouts, to the point that he and the caliph spoke rudely to each other and Abū Jaʿfar told him to "Go suck!" "O Abū Jaʿfar," ʿAbdallāh replied, "by which of my mothers would you have me suck? By Fāṭimah,[449] daughter of the Messenger of God? Or by Fāṭimah bt. Asad?[450] Or by Fāṭimah bt.

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446. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b. Maʿmar al-Taymī (d. 228/843), also Ibn ʿĀʾishah or al-ʿAyshī, was a Baṣran historian and *muḥaddith* who traced his lineage from ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah, niece of the Prophet Muḥammad's wife and granddaughter of Abū Bakr. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 564–67; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 196; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 505.

447. ʿAdan, i.e., Aden, is a peninsular seaport in the Yemen. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 89–90; *EI*², s.v. (O. Löfgren).

448. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qasama*.

449. Fāṭimah was the most famous of the Prophet's daughters. She was the wife of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and thus great-great-grandmother of ʿAbdallāh. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

450. Fāṭimah bt. Asad b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the mother of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 118; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 130.

Ḥusayn?[451] Or Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah?[452] Or Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid?"[453] Abū Ja'far answered, "Not by a single one of them, but by al-Jarbā' bt. Qasāmah b. Zuhayr,[454] a woman of Ṭayyi'."[455]

Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr jumped up and said, "Call upon me, Commander of the Faithful, to behead the son of a bitch!" Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh stood up and threw his mantle (*ridā'*)[456] over 'Abdallāh, saying, "Give him to me, Commander of the Faithful. I will produce his two sons for you." Thus did he get 'Abdallāh away from Abū Ja'far.[457]

According to 'Umar—al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham: Al-Ḥazīn al-Dīlī[458] said to 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, reproaching him for the birth of al-Jarbā':

Would you [with the likes of] al-Jarbā' or Ḥukākah[459]
vie against Umm al-Faḍl[460] and the daughter of Mishraḥ?[461]

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451. Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn, granddaughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, was married first to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī and then to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān. She died in 110/728. Ziriklī, *A'lām*, V, 130; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179.

452. Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh was the mother of Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, 319; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179.

453. Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid was the first wife of the Prophet and mother of Fāṭimah. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 109–17.

454. Al-Jarbā' bt. Qasāmah b. Zuhayr, the mother of Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah, was thus named because of her beauty, a beauty so extraordinary that other women would shun her to avoid comparison. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179; Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 404.

455. The Banū Ṭayyi' were an ancient Yamanī tribal group who migrated to the northern part of the peninsula. *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭaiy (H. H. Bräu); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 176, II, 555.

456. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 36; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 59–60.

457. *Fa-takhallaṣahu minhu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khalaṣa*.

458. Al-Ḥazīn al-Dīlī al-Kinānī, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Wuhayb, was an Umayyad poet who lived in Medina and died about 90/709. *GAS*, II, 426; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, II, 175.

459. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 404, an additional meaning of *al-jarbā'* is "the sky, . . . its stars being likened to the marks of *jarab* (mange or scab)," while *ḥukākah* is defined (ibid., 615) as the residue from anything scraped or scratched.

460. Lubābah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr (also Lubābah al-Kubrā) was the wife of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the Prophet's uncle and the man from whom the dynasty took its name. Ṭabarī, III, 2335; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 314–15; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 20.

461. Zar'ah b. Mishraḥ b. Ma'dī was the wife of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, i.e., Ibn 'Abbās, the famous Qur'ānic exegete (*mufassir*) and *muḥaddith*. Ṭabarī, III, 2335.

From them descends but one chaste woman of noble lineage,
held by her people in highest esteem.

[151] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād: Al-Sindī, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, told me that when ʿUqbah b. Salm had made his report to Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph decided to make the Pilgrimage and said to ʿUqbah, "When I reach such and such a place, the Ḥasanids, led by ʿAbdallāh, will come to meet me. I shall treat him with deference, seat him in the place of honor, and call for the morning repast. After we have finished our meal, I will catch your eye, and you go stand right in front of him. He will avert his glance from you, so go round behind him until you can touch his back with your big toe, doing so until he is forced to look at you. That's all you need to do, but beware lest he sees you while he is eating."

Abū Jaʿfar then set off, pressing on through to the region where the Ḥasanids came to meet him. He seated ʿAbdallāh beside him and called for the meal. When they had eaten it, Abū Jaʿfar called for its removal. He then turned to ʿAbdallāh and said, "Abū Muḥammad, surely, recognizing the covenants and compacts you've given me, you wish me no evil nor conspire against me as ruler."[462] "That is so, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. At this Abū Jaʿfar glanced at ʿUqbah, who circled around until he stood in front of ʿAbdallāh, but the latter turned away from him. ʿUqbah then went around[463] until he stood behind ʿAbdallāh's back, and touched him with his toe, at which ʿAbdallāh lifted up his head and looked at him. Realizing the situation, ʿAbdallāh rushed over to kneel before Abū Jaʿfar and said, "Forgive me, Commander of the Faithful, and may God forgive you." The caliph retorted, "May God not forgive me if I forgive you." Then he ordered him to be confined.

According to ʿUmar—Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim, the *mawlā* of Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[464]—ʿAlī b.

462. *Wa-lā takīda lī sulṭānan.* Cf. note 424.

463. *Fa-istadāra,* following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* V, 517, rather than Leiden's *rafaʿa raʾsahu.*

464. Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was the daughter of the first caliph's eldest son, and niece of Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾishah. Dhahabī, *Siyar,* II, 471–73.

Rabāḥ b. Shabīb,[465] the brother of Ibrāhīm—Ṣāliḥ, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*: I was standing in attendance on Abū Jaʿfar while he was having breakfast in Awṭās[466] on his way to Mecca. With him at [152] table were ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, Abū al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī,[467] and a group of the Banū al-ʿAbbās. He turned to ʿAbdallāh and said, "O Abū Muḥammad, I see that Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm feel an aversion to my company. I am most desirous that they be my friends,[468] that they come to me so that I can establish close contact and be on personal terms with them." ʿAbdallāh bowed his head in silence for a long time. Then he raised his head and said, "By your right [to know the truth], Commander of the Faithful, I have no knowledge of them or of what land they're in. They have entirely left my control." Abū Jaʿfar continued, "Don't say this,[469] Abū Muḥammad; write to them and to someone who will convey your letter to them."

On this day Abū Jaʿfar ignored the greater part of his morning repast, turning instead toward ʿAbdallāh. While ʿAbdallāh swore that he had no idea where Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were, Abū Jaʿfar kept repeating, "Don't say this, Abū Muḥammad, don't say this, Abū Muḥammad, don't say this, Abū Muḥammad." The reason why Muḥammad was so strenuously avoiding[470] Abū Jaʿfar was because in Mecca, with certain of the Muʿtazilah, Abū Jaʿfar had contracted to support his claim.[471]

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar, i.e., Ibn Abī ʿAmr—Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī—his father—al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in the year 140, ʿAbdallāh and Ḥasan,[472] the sons of Ḥasan, came to him. Both

465. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 213, gives the name as ʿAlī b. Riyāḥ.

466. Awṭās was a stop on the route from al-Baṣrah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 281; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 71.

467. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI, for the addition of "al-Jaʿfarī"; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 213, omits.

468. *Yaʾnisā bī* with Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

469. *Lā tafʿal*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *faʿala*.

470. *Wa-kāna shiddatu harabi Muḥammadin min Abī Jaʿfar*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *haraba*.

471. See the account on p. 86. Sources cited by Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 84, specify the location of this meeting as a village near Medina called al-Abwāʾ.

472. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 185–86; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 418–19.

they and I were in his presence while he was busy looking at a letter. At this point al-Mahdī [the caliph-designate] began to speak, but his Arabic was full of mistakes. ʿAbdallāh said, "Commander of the Faithful, will you put this fellow in the hands of someone who could correct his speech? He speaks as carelessly as the slave girl!"[473] The caliph didn't catch on, so I winked at ʿAbdallāh, but he didn't notice[474] and took up the subject again with Abū Jaʿfar. But the caliph would not rise to it and said, "Where is your son?" "I don't know," replied ʿAbdallāh. The caliph said, "You must bring him to me," to which ʿAbdallāh responded, "If he were right under my feet, I would not raise them
[153] from him." At this Abū Jaʿfar said, "O Rabīʿ, take him into custody."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī:[475] Abū Jaʿfar felt continuing resentment against ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan for having taken Abū al-ʿAbbās for use in a pastiche:

Haven't you seen Ḥawshab about to build
dwellings for use of the Banū Nutaylah?[476]

In fact, when he ordered ʿAbdallāh's imprisonment, the caliph said, "Were you not the one who said of Abū al-ʿAbbās:

Haven't you seen Ḥawshab about to build
dwellings for use of the Banū Nutaylah?

even though he had great trust in you and treated you most kindly?"

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473. *Yaʿfiku ʿafk al-amah.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ghafala.*

474. *Fa-lam yantabih lahā*, following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 524, and Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

475. He is also cited on p. 152.

476. Variants of this name include "Buqaylah" (Leiden text) and "Nufaylah" (*Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 175). Nutaylah bt. Janāb b. Kulayb b. Mālik b. ʿAmr is mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 2311, as the mother of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 525, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 175, complete the quatrain, quoting from the latter's *Kitāb al-aghānī*: "He hopes to live the span of Noah/but God's command comes to pass each night." Ṭabarī, III, 2507, also offers a variant: "Haven't you seen Ḥawshab recently building/palaces for the Banū Nutaylah?/He hopes to live the span of Noah/but God's command befalls (*yaṭruqu*) each night."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq—Abū Ḥunayn: I came to see ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan when he was in prison. He asked, "Did anything of note happen today?" "Yes," I said, "the caliph commanded that your household goods and slaves be sold, but I didn't see anyone offering a bid." ʿAbdallāh exclaimed, "And yet, you know, Abū Ḥunayn, I swear, had my daughters and I been brought forth as slaves, we would have been bought!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar left while ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was imprisoned. He remained in confinement for three years.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib—Abū Ḥarmalah Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, the *mawlā* of the family of ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān—Abū Habbār al-Muzanī: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in 140, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh who were in hid- [154] ing, made the Pilgrimage in that year, too. [Those who suported their cause] met, therefore, in Mecca, intending treachery against Abū Jaʿfar. Al-Ashtar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[477] said to them, "I will deal with him for you." Muḥammad declared, "No, by God, I will not assassinate him before I have summoned him to our cause." This wrecked their plans and what they had agreed upon. Incidentally, one of Abū Jaʿfar's Khurāsānī army commanders had collaborated with them in this.[478] Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿraj[479] presented himself to Abū Jaʿfar and reported their scheme to him. Consequently, the caliph sent in search of the army officer, but without success. He did, however, succeed in seizing a group of his associates. The man himself got away, together with a slave with whom he had entrusted the sum of roughly 2,000 dīnārs, which the slave had brought to

477. Al-Ashtar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was sent by his father to solicit the support of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ during the time when he was governor of Sind. He was killed in 151/768–69 by ʿUmar's replacement as governor, Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī. Ṭabarī, III, 360–64; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 310–14.

478. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 518, identifies him as Khālid b. Ḥassān who was known as Abū al-ʿAsākir. See the account on p. 102.

479. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿraj was the eldest son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and eponymous origin of the Ismāʿīliyyah. Ṭabarī, III, 2509; *EI*², s.v. Ismāʿīliyya (W. Madelung); Omar, "Aspects", 176–77.

him when he was with Muḥammad. The latter, in turn, divided it up among his associates.[480]

According to Abū Habbār: Muḥammad ordered me to buy camels for the man, to outfit him, and to transport him in a domed litter (*qubbah*).[481] Accordingly, I placed him in a camel train and set off with him in the direction of Medina until I had conveyed him there. Then Muḥammad arrived and brought the man to his father, ʿAbdallāh. ʿAbdallāh dispatched both the officer and his slave to a certain district in Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar began to kill the associates of this army officer whose situation we have just mentioned.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad—his father—his father: I came to Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh one morning when Abū Jaʿfar was in Medina. He said, "Let me tell you about a remarkable experience I had last night. The messengers of the Commander of the Faithful roused me at midnight. (Now Ziyād had moved because of the Commander of the Faithful's arrival at his house in al-Balāṭ.)[482] His messengers banged on the door, and I emerged [from my bed chamber] wearing nothing but my waist wrapper (*izār*).[483] I awoke my slaves and eunuchs in the gallery of the house, telling them, "Even if they tear down the house, none of you must say anything to them." Ziyād continued,
[155] "They knocked for a long time and then went away. They stayed away for a while and then showed up again with a battering ram, which made it seem like[484] they had with them again as many men or twice that number. They banged on the gate with iron clubs and shouted out, but still no one spoke to them. At this they went back and stayed away for another while. Then they brought something that there was no resisting. I thought, "By God, they are pulling down the house around me," so I ordered [the gate] to be opened, and I went out to them. They started to

480. The pronouns here do not allow a definite assignment of the action.

481. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qabba*.

482. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXX, notes this as the site of al-Zawrāʾ, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's house in Medina. Ṭabarī, I, 2827.

483. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 34–35; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 24–38.

484. *Shabīh an*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *shabbaha*.

rush at me, intending to carry me off. I now began to hear one of them express condolences all the way to their handing me over to the Dār Marwān.[485] Two men grabbed me by the upper arms and made me quick-step over the ground [like an ostrich][486] or some such until they brought me to the antechamber of the great dome. There I saw al-Rabīʿ standing, who said, "Alas, Ziyād, what have you done to us and to yourself during this night?" He led me forward and drew back the curtain covering the door of the domed room. He then made me enter, standing behind me between the two doors. At the sides of the domed room there were glowing candles and a servant standing beside each. On a carpet, sitting back on his heels supported only by his sword straps, with neither cushion nor prayer rug under him, was Abū Jaʿfar. He had his head bowed and was scratching at his hand with a mace. Al-Rabīʿ informed me that he had been like this from the time of the dusk prayer until this hour. I stood there for so long that I expected the dawn would be called, affording me some relief. He spoke not a single word to me. Finally, he raised his head to me and said, "You son of a bitch, where are Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm?" He then bowed his head again, scratching even longer than before. Raising his head for a second time, he repeated, "Where are Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, you son of a bitch? May God kill me if I do not kill you." I said to him, "Hear me; let me [156]
speak to you." "Speak," he said. I then said to him, "You scared them away; you sent a messenger with the money you ordered divided among the Banū Hāshim. Stopping in al-Qādisiyyah,[487] he drew forth a knife, sharpened it, and announced, 'The Commander of the Faithful sent me to slaughter Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.' The two of them heard about that and fled." "Leave me," he said, so I went away.

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485. The governor's residence, its name deriving from the Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who served twice as governor of Medina, i.e., 41–48/661–68 and 54–57/674–77. *EI*[2], s.v. Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam (C. E. Bosworth).

486. *ʿAlā ḥāl al-zafīf ʿalā al-arḍ*. Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1235. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 526, amends this to *ʿalā ḥāl al-dafīf*.

487. Al-Qādisiyyah was the first stage southwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Mecca and site of the Muslim victory against the army of Yazdajird III. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 291–93; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76; *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd, who was nicknamed "al-Akkār" [the ploughman], a man from Fayd[488]—Naṣr b. Qādim, the *mawlā* of the Banū Maḥūl, the wheat dealers: ʿAbdawayh[489] and certain associates of his were in Mecca in the year that Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage. ʿAbdawayh said to his confederates, "Between [the hills of] al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah[490] I intend to run this lance (*ḥarbah*)[491] through Abū Jaʿfar's mouth." ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan heard about that and forbade him to do so, saying, "You are in an exalted place[492] [i.e., holy ground], and I don't think you should do that." Abū Jaʿfar had an army officer by the name of Khālid b. Ḥassān, also called "Abū ʿAsākir" [Master of the Troops], who commanded 1,000 men and who had supported ʿAbdawayh and his confederates. Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Tell me about yourself and about ʿAbdawayh and al-ʿUṭāridī.[493] What did you intend to do in Mecca?" When Khālid had described his plans, the caliph asked, "What held you back?" To this Khālid responded, "ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan." The caliph then made away with him, and he has not been seen up to the present.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Once ʿAbdallāh had been arrested, Abū Jaʿfar intensified the search for his two sons. He sent one of his spies along with a letter he had written as if it were addressed to Muḥammad from his supporters (*al-shīʿah*), in which they reminded Muḥammad of their obedience to him and their eagerness for action. He also sent money and fine things with the spy. The man arrived in Medina and, having presented himself to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, asked him where Muḥammad was. ʿAbdallāh told him that Muḥammad

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488. Fayd was a settlement in the north-central area of the Arabian peninsula that lay about halfway along the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah to Mecca and Medina. *EI²*, Suppl., s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 282–83; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 91.

489. Kardām al-Khurāsānī. Vocalization following *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, and III, 302.

490. Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah are two little hills in Mecca that form the site of part of the mandated Pilgrimage rituals. *EI¹*, s.v. al-Ṣafā (B. Joel), and Saʿy (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes).

491. The *ḥarbah, or ʿanazah*, was a symbol of sovereign authority. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥariba*; *EI²*, s.v. ʿAnaza (G. C. Miles).

492. *Fī mawḍiʿin ʿaẓīmin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaẓuma*.

493. ʿUṭārid b. ʿAwf were a subgroup of the Banū Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 77, II, 580.

was on the mountain of Juhaynah[494] and said, "Make your way to ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, the pious man known as "al-Agharr"[495] [the illustrious, the noble] who is at Dhū al-Abar.[496] He will guide you." The spy went to al-Agharr, and the latter guided him. Now Abū Jaʿfar had a confidential scribe who was sympathetic to the cause of the *shīʿah*. He wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, telling him about that spy and [the true nature of] what had been sent to him. When the letter reached ʿAbdallāh, they were frightened and sent Abū Habbār to ʿAlī b. Ḥasan and to Muḥammad to warn them about the man. Abū Habbār got as far as ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, who, upon questioning, informed Abū Habbār that he had guided the spy to Muḥammad. Abū Habbār said, "Then I came to where Muḥammad was and found him sitting in a cave together with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī,[497] the two sons of Shujāʿ, and others. The man [i.e., the spy] was with them, speaking the loudest and acting the jolliest. When he saw me, a certain air of distrust appeared on him,[498] but I sat down with the group and conversed for a time. Then I leaned over to Muḥammad and said that I needed something. He got up, as did I, and I told him about the man. Reciting the formula "We are God's and to Him is our return,"[499] he asked my opinion. I said, "You can do one of three things, as you wish." "What are they?" he asked. I said, "You could let me kill the man." To this he replied, "I must not let myself shed blood except under compulsion. What else?" I said, "You could clap him in irons and carry him with you wherever you roam." To this Muḥammad responded, "Are we to be concerned about him in addition to our fear and haste? What else?" I said, "You could [157]

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494. The territory belonging to the tribe so named, a division of the Quḍāʿah, lay along the northwestern littoral of the Arabian peninsula. Mount Raḍwā (see Ṭabarī, III, 166, below) lies within this region. *EI*[1], s.v. Djuhaina (C. H. Becker); *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳuḍāʿa (M. J. Kister); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 194–95.

495. This is ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan ("al-Muthallath") b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was also known as ʿAlī b. ʿĀbid and ʿAlī al-Khayr. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 190–95; *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

496. Conjectural vocalization. There is no reference to this place in the standard geographical literature.

497. Abū ʿĀmir al-Madanī (d. 150/767) was a traditionist characterized variously as weak and as trusthworthy. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 241; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313=*Opkomst*, 286–87.

498. *Ẓahara ʿalayhi al-nakaratu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nakira*.

499. Qurʾān 2:156.

bind and fetter him and leave him with someone you trust here on Juhaynah." "That's what I'll do," he said. We returned [to the group]. The man, however, had taken alarm and fled. I asked where he was, and they said, "He stood up with his water bag and poured some water from it. Then he went behind that projecting rock as if to perform his ablution." We went all over the mountain and its environs, but it was if the earth had closed over him.

The spy proceeded on foot until he got onto the road. There some desert Arabs passed him, carrying a load to Medina. He said
[158] to one of them, "Empty this grain sack and put me in it; I will deal equitably with its owner, and your reward will be such and such." The man agreed and emptied the sack and transported the spy as far as Medina. The latter then went to Abū Jaʿfar and gave him a complete report. Having forgotten both Abū Habbār's name and patronymic,[500] he [gratuitously] gave it as "Wabr". Abū Jaʿfar therefore wrote in search of Wabr [instead of Abū Habbār] al-Muzanī. A certain man by that name was brought to the caliph, who questioned him regarding the story of Muḥammad and what the spy had told him. The man swore that he knew nothing about this, but at the caliph's command he was given 700 lashes and confined until Abū Jaʿfar died.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar remained intent on searching for Muḥammad, so he wrote urging Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī to redeem the pledges he had given. Now Muḥammad actually came to Medina,[501] and Ziyād heard of this. Ziyād acted graciously toward him, giving him a guarantee of safety so that he could show his face to the people in company with Ziyād. Muḥammad promised to do so. Ziyād then mounted before dawn, having made an appointment [to meet] Muḥammad at the camel market.[502] The two met there, and Muḥammad showed himself quite openly with no attempt at concealment. Ziyād stood right beside him

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500. *Wa-ʿamiya ʿan ismi Abī Habbār wa-kunyatihi.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *ʿamiya.*

501. *Fa-qadima Muḥammadun al-madīnata qadmatan.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *qadima.*

502. For the identification with *sūq al-ghanam* see Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 144; but compare with ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 88, as *sūq al-ẓuhr,* or "afternoon market."

and declared, "This man, O people, is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan." Then he turned to him and said, "Take yourself to any place you wish in God's lands." Muḥammad went into hiding, and repeated reports of that incident continued to Abū Jaʿfar.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—someone whom he trusted: Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh entered Ziyād's presence wearing a mail shirt under his clothing. Ziyād touched it and said, "Abū Isḥāq, it's as if you suspect me of something that will never befall you from me!"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Ziyād rode in company with Muḥammad and brought him to the market. The people of [159]
Medina kept shouting out "the Mahdī, the Mahdī," so Muḥammad went into hiding, not to reappear until he came out in open revolt.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When successive reports of what Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh had done reached Abū Jaʿfar, he dispatched Abū al-Azhar,[503] a man from Khurāsān, to Medina. The caliph wrote a letter for Abū al-Azhar to take with him and handed over some other documents, commanding Abū al-Azhar not to read the letter he was being given until he stopped at al-Aʿwaṣ[504] at one post station's (*barīd*)[505] distance from Medina. Upon arrival there, Abū al-Azhar read the letter and discovered therein the appointment of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh,[506] a judge for Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, as governor of Medina. Further, it contained orders that Ziyād be bound in irons, that his wealth be confiscated, that everything he possessed be seized, that his agents and associates be arrested, and that both he and they be sent on to Abū Jaʿfar. Abū al-Azhar reached Medina on the 22d of Jumādā II in 141[507] and found Ziyād [had gone out] at the head of his retinue. Upon

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503. Al-Muhallab b. al-ʿUbaythir al-Mahrī, as the name is given by Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 190. See also Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 328, II, 421.

504. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 223, identifies al-Aʿwaṣ as a ravine (*shiʿb*) belonging to the Banū Hudhayl in the Tihāmah region.

505. In the western part of the ʿAbbāsid lands, postal stages were normally situated about twenty-four kilometers apart and about half that distance in the eastern lands. *EI*², s.v. Barīd (D. Sourdel); Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 141–42; Sauvaget, *La Poste aux chevaux*.

506. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanẓab al-Makhzūmī, who died in the late 170s. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 563.

507. Monday, October 30, 758.

asking "Where is the Amīr?" he was told that Ziyād had ridden forth. Then the messengers conveyed news of his arrival to Ziyād. Abū al-Azhar moved quickly ahead to enter the Dār Marwān. He gained admittance to Ziyād and presented him with a letter from Abū Jaʿfar, written on a *thuluth*,[508] which commanded him to hear and obey. When Ziyād had read it, he said, "I am ready to hear and obey; command what you wish, Abū al-Azhar." "Send for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib," Abū al-Azhar replied. Ziyād did so, and Abū al-Azhar [or Ziyād, who is still *amīr*] presented ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with a letter ordering him to pay heed to Abū al-Azhar. When he read it, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said, "I am ready to hear and obey." Then Abū al-Azhar presented to Ziyād a letter ordering him to surrender the governorship to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, while to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib he handed a letter of appointment. Next Abū al-Azhar said to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, "Send me four fetters and a blacksmith." When both had been brought, he demanded, "Shackle Abū Yaḥyā." Ziyād, therefore, was shackled and his
[160] wealth confiscated. (In the treasury there were 85,000 dīnārs.) Every single one of his agents was arrested. Abū al-Azhar departed with Ziyād and these others. When they were in Ṭaraf al-Madīnah,[509] his agents stood before Ziyād and paid their respects to him. Impressed with their bearing and valor, Ziyād exclaimed: "You are as dear to me as my father! By God, when Abū Jaʿfar sees *you*, I don't care what he does to me!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq—his maternal uncle, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd:[510] We went to see Ziyād on his way, and one night, as I marched below his litter, he turned to me. "By God," declared Ziyād, "I don't feel that I've done anything wrong against the Commander of the Faithful, but I suppose he is angry with me about the sons of ʿAbdallāh and resents the fact that, for me, the blood of the sons [i.e., descendants] of Fāṭimah is precious." They then proceeded as far as al-

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508. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thallatha*, defines this as "a large piece of paper, the third part of an entire sheet" and provides the fuller term, *thuluth qirṭāsin*, from Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-aghānī*.

509. Ṭaraf al-Madīnah was the last station before Medina on the way from al-Kūfah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 31; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 87.

510. Or ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd.

Shuqrah.[511] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[512] escaped from them and returned to Medina. Abū Jaʿfar imprisoned the others but eventually released them.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—a trusthworthy individual: When Abū Jaʿfar dispatched Mabhūt and Ibn Abī ʿĀṣiyah in search of Muḥammad, Mabhūt was the one who seized Ziyād, so Ziyād said:

I bear the offense of a people not my own,
but the left hand does not sin against the right.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh— ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Al-Shaʿbānī, one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders, and I, together with Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, frequently visited Abū al-Azhar in the days when Abū Jaʿfar had sent him in search of the Ḥasanids. In fact, one day I was traveling with Abū al-Azhar when someone came right up next to him and said, "I have some well-intentioned advice about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm." Abū al-Azhar told him to go away, but the man persisted, "It is sincere advice for the Commander of the Faithful." "Leave us," said Abū al-Azhar, "and watch out; people have been killed for such." But [161]
the man refused to go away, and Abū al-Azhar ignored him until the coast was clear. Then with his sword he made a gash in the man's belly and threw him to the side.

After Ziyād, Abū Jaʿfar installed Muḥammad b. Khālid as governor of Medina.[513]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar installed Muḥammad b. Khālid as governor of Medina after Ziyād, commanding him to press on with the search for Muḥammad and to spend freely in the effort. Muḥammad b. Khālid traveled in haste and arrived in Medina at the new

511. Al-Shuqrah is later cited in Ṭabarī, III, 161, as lying between al-Aʿwaṣ and al-Ṭaraf. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 530, gives this as al-Shaqrā'. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 355.

512. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī, who has appeared earlier in Ṭabarī as a transmitter, was descended from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, an important Meccan convert from the Banū Zuhrah. *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (W. Montgomery Watt).

513. This would indicate that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib (see p. 105, above) was an interim appointment.

moon[514] of Rajab 141. The people of Medina knew nothing of his appointment until his messenger arrived from al-Shuqrah, which lies between al-Aʿwaṣ and al-Ṭaraf, two nights' journey from Medina. In the treasury he found 70,000 dīnārs and 1 million dirhams. He used that entire sum, as well as many other monies that he raised in his audit, expending them on the search for Muḥammad. However, Abū Jaʿfar judged him to be sluggish and began to have suspicions about him, so he wrote ordering him to make a thorough search of Medina and its environs. Muḥammad b. Khālid gave orders to the treasury officials to pay wages to anyone who participated in the search. Thus they paid wages, but al-Ghāḍirī al-Muḍḥik[515] sold[516] [his share], incurring a debt with the people of 1,000 dīnārs, but this too was depleted and wiped out. They also went out to the surrounding areas in search of Muḥammad. Al-Qasrī [i.e., Muḥammad b. Khālid] ordered the people of Medina to remain in their houses for seven days. His messengers and soldiers made the rounds of the people's houses in order to search, but they did not come up with anything. (Al-Qasrī had written documents for his assistants, giving them supreme authority so that no one could reproach them.) But because Abū Jaʿfar found Muḥammad b. Khālid sluggish and saw what funds he had used up, he dismissed him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—Ḥusayn b. Yazīd—Ibn
[162] Ḍabbah: The problem of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm weighed heavily upon Abū Jaʿfar, so he sent someone to summon Abū al-Siʿlāʾ,[517] a man of Qays b. ʿAylān,[518] and said, "Come now, advise me in the matter of these two men. The business with them has really given me grief." Abū al-Siʿlāʾ replied, "I think that you

514. Although actual observation of the new moon can be problematic, this term usually connotes the first day of the lunar month, i.e., 1 Rajab 141 (Tuesday, November 7, 758). *EI*², s.v. Hilāl (J. Schacht).

515. For his later confrontation with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh see p. 194.

516. *Wa-bāʿa*, following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII.

517. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 519, gives the name as Abī al-ʿAlāʾ.

518. Qays ʿAylān was a principal subdivision of the Muḍar, one of two major tribal groupings in ancient northern Arabia. *EI*², s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān (G. Baer and M. Hoexter); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 456.

should appoint as governor one of the descendants of al-Zubayr[519] or Ṭalḥah,[520] for those people would conduct a truly vengeful search for the two of them.[521] I swear they would not let Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm rest until they ferreted them out for you!" "May God confound you!" said the caliph; "what excellent advice you've brought! I had, of course, thought of that, but I vow to God that I will not take vengeance against the people of my house by the hands of my enemy or theirs. Yet I could send some poor Arab of no consequence,[522] and he could do just what you said." Abū Jaʿfar thus sent Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā[523]—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: One day, after Abū Jaʿfar had decided to dismiss Muḥammad b. Khālid from the governorship of Medina, he went out riding and, upon leaving his house, was met by Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī.[524] The caliph called to him, and so Yazīd came alongside him. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Could you put me on to some poor [but promising] Qaysī youth whom I could enrich and ennoble, empowering him over the Lord of the Yemen, who will lead him a dance, i.e., Ibn al-Qasrī?"[525] "Yes, Commander of the Faithful," replied Yazīd, "I know just the one." "Who is he?" the caliph asked. Yazīd replied, "Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī." The caliph cautioned, "Be sure not to men-

519. Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Ḥawārī was an early convert of whom the Prophet Muḥammad said, "Every prophet has an apostle (*ḥawārī*), and my apostle is al-Zubayr." Dhahabī, *Siyar*, I, 41–67; *EI*[1], s.v. (A. J. Wensinck).

520. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh was a Companion of the Prophet who shielded the latter in his retreat at the Battle of Uḥud. *EI*[1], s.v. (G. Levi della Vida).

521. Both Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were central figures in the Battle of the Camel, an attempt to avenge ʿUthmān and to wrest power from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and lost their lives in that episode. Their descendants would thus not have any great affection for the ʿAlids.

522. *Ṣuʿaylīkan min al-ʿarab*. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṣaʿlaka*.

523. Perhaps the brother of Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad.

524. Yazīd b. Usayd b. Ẓāfir b. Asmāʾ al-Sulamī (d. after 162/779), son of a Christian mother, was a prominent army commander during the Umayyad caliphate and served as governor of Armenia for al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. Ṭabarī, III, 81, 374, 493; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 209–10; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 179; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 57–58.

525. I.e., Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī.

tion this to anyone." Then he left and ordered fine mounts, clothing, and baggage to be prepared for the journey. When the caliph came away from the final night prayer, he summoned Riyāḥ, told him what an affliction Ziyād and Ibn al-Qasrī's deception in the matter of the sons of ʿAbdallāh had been to him, and appointed him the governor of Medina. He demanded that Riyāḥ set off immediately, without even going back to his house, and he commanded him to exert every effort in the search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Riyāḥ left in such a hurry that he arrived in Medina
[163] on Friday, 23 Ramaḍān 144.[526]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf[527]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—his father:[528] When Abū Jaʿfar's problem with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm had worn him down, I went out one day from his presence—or from my house on the way to him—and suddenly found a man who approached me. He said, "I am Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān's messenger to you. Riyāḥ says to you, 'I have heard about the problem of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm and about the duplicity of the governors in their affair. If the Commander of the Faithful appoints me governor of Medina, I give him my guarantee that I will seize them and bring them forth.' " I conveyed that to the Commander of the Faithful, and he wrote to him with his commission without witness.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: When Riyāḥ entered the Dār Marwān and went into the gallery, he turned to one (some) of those with him and asked, "Is this the Dār Marwān?" They said it was, and he announced, "This is a place where people come and people go, unable to remain at rest;[529] we, then, shall be the first to leave it [and do something]."

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—al-Zubayr b. al-Mundhir, the *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAwwām: Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān arrived accompanied by his chamberlain, known as Abū al-Bakhtarī, who had been a friend of my father's in the days

526. December 25, 761.

527. Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd.

528. I.e., al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, the caliph's *mawlā*.

529. *Hādhihi al-miḥlāl al-miẓʿān*, with Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 622, for *miḥlāl*, and Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ẓaʿana*, for *miẓʿān*.

of al-Walīd b. Yazīd.[530] Because of his friendship for my father, I used to visit him. One day he said to me, "Zubayr, when Riyāḥ entered the Dār Marwān, he said to me, 'Is this the Dār Marwān? By God, it is certainly a place where people come and people go, unable to remain at rest.' When the people parted from him[531]—'Abdallāh being confined in the domed structure of the Dār leading to the [caliph's] enclosure where Ziyād b.'Ubaydallāh had imprisoned him—Riyāḥ said to me, 'Take my hand, Abū al-Bakhtarī. We shall go see this old man.' He advanced, leaning on me, until he came to a stop before 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan and said, 'By God, old man, the Commander of the Faithful did not make me governor because of close kinship or for any favor that my [164] forebears did for him. You had better not lead me on as you did Ziyād and Ibn al-Qasrī. By God, I shall give you a bad time unless you bring me your sons, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.' 'Abdallāh lifted up his head to him and said, 'Yes; and, of course, you, by God, will be the Qaysī dripping red,[532] slaughtered for it [my soul] like a butchered sheep'. Abū al-Bakhtarī remarked, 'Riyāḥ left then, holding on to my hand. I could feel the chill of his hand and that he was shuffling on his feet because of what 'Abdallāh had said to him. I said, 'By God, this man is not apprised of the unknown!' 'Alas,' replied Riyāḥ, 'God knows he only said what he has heard.' Abū al-Bakhtarī concluded, 'By God, he was in fact slaughtered for it like a sheep.' "

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ arrived in Medina and summoned [Muḥammad b. Khālid] al-Qasrī to ask him about the [public] funds. Muḥammad b. Khālid said, "This is my secretary; he is more knowledgeable about such matters than I." "I am asking you," Riyāḥ retorted, "and you are relegating me to your secretary!" He commanded that he be stabbed in the neck and that he be lashed about the head with whips. Then he arrested Rizām, Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī's secretary and *mawlā*, and punished him at length. He had him beaten fifteen lashes every other day, and, with his hand

530. Walīd II, an Umayyad caliph who reigned for little more than a year (from 125/743 to 126/744) before being killed by agents of his successor, Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 90–94.

531. *Fa-lammā takashshafa al-nāsu 'anhu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kashafa*.

532. *Innaka la azbarqu Qaysin*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII.

manacled to his neck from morning to night, he was made to follow Riyāḥ around the courtyard of the mosque and the open square. Secretly, Riyāḥ tried to get him to make accusations against Ibn Khālid, but he did not find Rizām amenable. One day during that time ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Judhāmī, deputy to the chief of police, took him out, intending to beat him, but from feet to head he was one suppurating ulcer. ʿUmar asked, "This is the
[165] day for your lashing[533] [again], so where do you want us to whip you?" "By God," Rizām replied, "there is no place left on my body to beat! But if you wish, then the palms of my hands." He then held out his hands and was beaten fifteen lashes on the palms.

Riyāḥ's messengers kept coming to Rizām, ordering him to make accusations against Ibn Khālid so that he could be set free. He sent back to Riyāḥ, "Tell them to leave me alone so that I can write a letter." Riyāḥ did so, but then he kept after him and sent word to him "to come with the letter that evening in front of the people and hand it over to me." When evening came, Riyāḥ sent for him. Rizām arrived to find Riyāḥ with a group of people, so he said, "Hear me, all of you, the Amīr ordered me to write a letter making accusations against Ibn Khālid. I have indeed written such a letter to escape harm.[534] I swear to you that everything in it is false." At Riyāḥ's orders he was given one hundred lashes and sent back to prison.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his paternal uncle, ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī: When God cast Adam down from the Garden, he set him up on [Mt.] Abū Qubays[535] and raised up for him the entire earth so that he could view it, saying, "All of this is yours." Adam asked, "How, O Lord, will I know what is in it?" God then made for him the stars and said, "When you see the star such and such, it is [to be called] this, and when you see the star such and such it is [to be called] that." Therefore Adam came to know this from the stars. Then

533. *Hadhā yawmu ghibbika*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ghibb*.

534. *Kitāban atanajjā bihi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *najā*.

535. Abū Qubays is the name of a hill overlooking the Great Mosque in Mecca, where Adam is said to be buried. *EI*², s.v. Abū Ḳubays (G. Rentz); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 80–81.

that became too hard for him, so God sent from heaven a mirror in which Adam could see what was on earth, until, when Adam died, a satan called Faqṭas[536] went to get it. He then broke it and built upon the pieces a city in the east called Jābirat.[537] When Sulaymān b. Dāwūd[538] asked about the mirror, he was told that Faqṭas had taken it. Sulaymān summoned Faqṭas and asked him about it. Faqṭas said, "It is under the foundations of Jābirat." [166] "Bring it to me," said Sulaymān. "Who will tear down the city?" asked Faqṭas. Now they told[539] Sulaymān to tell him, "You," which he did. So Faqṭas brought the mirror to Sulaymān, and Sulaymān put the parts of it back together. Then he bound its circumference with a strap and kept looking into it until his death. At this the satans pounced on it and carried it off, but a bit of it remained. The Banū Isrā'īl passed this bit down from one generation to the next until it came to the Exilarch (*ra's al-jālūt*).[540] He brought it to Marwān b. Muḥammad,[541] who kept polishing it and affixed it to another mirror. In it he saw something that he found repulsive, so he threw down the mirror, beheaded the Exilarch, and handed it over to one of his slave girls. She put it into a wad of cotton and then placed it in a stone. When Abū Ja'far became caliph, he asked about it and was told that a certain woman had the mirror. He searched until he had found her, she being [already] in his household.[542] He, too, kept polishing it and put it into another mirror. Looking into it, he could see Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, so he wrote to Riyāḥ b. 'Uthmān telling him that Muḥammad was in some country where there were citrons and grapes and that he should look for him there. Now one of Abū Ja'far's associates had written to Muḥammad, "Do not

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536. For Faqṭas and Faqṭasah as the twin offspring of Iblīs, see al-Kisā'ī, *Tales of the Prophets*, 19.

537. This vocalization is conjectural.

538. I.e., the Biblical and Qur'ānic prophet Solomon. According to a later account in Ṭabarī, III, 321, the gates that Abū Ja'far used in building Baghdad came originally from the prophet Sulaymān via al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's city of Wāsiṭ.

539. The identity of these advisors is left indefinite.

540. The Resh Galuta was the lay leader of the Jewish community in Iraq. According to Eliezer Bashan, *EJ*, s.v. Exilarch, Solomon b. Ḥisdai served as Exilarch from 115–43/733–59. The caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, however, died in 750.

541. Marwān II was the last caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. He reigned 127–32/744–50. *EI²*, s.v. (G.R. Hawting).

542. Or the pronouns could refer to the mirror itself.

stay in any place for longer than it takes the courier to go from Iraq to Medina." Muḥammad, therefore, stayed on the move, and Abū Jaʿfar saw him in al-Bayḍāʾ,[543] which is about twenty miles beyond al-Ghābah,[544] belonging to Ashjaʿ.[545] So he wrote to Riyāḥ that Muḥammad was in a country where there were mountains and tarns.[546] Riyāḥ searched but did not find him. Abū Jaʿfar then wrote to him that now Muḥammad was on a mountain where there were terebinth berries[547] and pitch. Riyāḥ said to himself, "This must be Raḍwā,[548] so again he looked for Muḥammad but did not find him.

According to Abū Zayd[549]—Abū Ṣafwān Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr b. Sayyār:[550] I heard that Abū Jaʿfar owned a mirror in which he could distinguish his enemy from his friend.

[167] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ intensified the search for Muḥammad and was informed that he was in one of the mountain gorges of Raḍwā, a mountain of Juhaynah in the administrative district of Yanbuʿ.[551] Riyāḥ thus appointed ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Mālik al-Juhanī,[552] one

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543. Al-Bayḍāʾ was the stage before Wādī al-Qurā on the northwestern route into Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 529–30; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 72.

544. Yāqūt, *Buldān* IV, 182, identifies al-Ghābah simply as a place near Medina on the way from Syria. The word itself connotes either a depression in the earth or a thicket of wood or reeds. Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 90.

545. The Banū Ashjaʿ were one of the tribal subdivions of Qays who affiliated with the Prophet during his years in Medina and subsequently fought in the wars of *riddah* and the further conquest of Arabia. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 71, 88; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 201; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 249–50.

546. The Leiden vocalization is *qillāt*, but see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 395, for de Goeje's references to the alternative *qullāt*.

547. *Al-ḥabb al-akhḍar*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥabb*.

548. Raḍwā is a mountain group in the territory of Juhaynah (see note 494, above) where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is believed to have gone into occultation. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 51; Farmayan and Daniel, *Shiʿite Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 284, 288.

549. I.e., ʿUmar b. Shabbah b. ʿAbīdah.

550. Presumably a descendant of the noted Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī (d. 131/748). *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

551. Yanbuʿ is now a seaport on the west coast of the Arabian peninsula almost on the same latitude as Medina; the name also applies to an inland oasis that lies northeast of the port. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 449–50, identifies it as the site of a *wuqūf* belonging to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. *EI*¹, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 89.

552. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 308.

of the Banū Jusham,[553] as governor of Yanbuʿ and ordered him to search for Muḥammad, which he did. ʿAmr was told that Muḥammad was in a mountain gorge of Raḍwā, so he went there with cavalry and infantry. This frightened Muḥammad. ʿAmr appeared in force, but Muḥammad escaped. He had a little son,[554] however, who was born during this fearful period and was in the care of one of his slave girls, and the child fell from the mountain and was dashed to pieces. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān then went away.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭāʾī: When Muḥammad's son fell to his death and he suffered what he suffered, he spoke these lines:

In tattered clothes he suffers sore feet.[555]
    Sharp-edged flints afflict him.
Fear banished and disgraced him.
    Thus it is with one who hates the heat of battle.
In death he'll have rest.
    Death is a decree imposed on men's necks.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his paternal uncle, ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh said, "While I was in Raḍwā together with a slave girl who was my concubine (and who had with her a little son of mine whom she was nursing), suddenly Ibn Sanūṭī, a *mawlā* of the people of Medina, pounced on me in the mountain area where he had been looking for me. I left in flight, and the slave girl fled, but the little boy fell from her [grasp] and was dashed to pieces." ʿUbaydallāh continued, "Ibn Sanūṭī was brought to Muḥammad after the time [168]
when he came out in open revolt. 'Ibn Sanūṭī,' Muḥammad said, 'do you know what happened to the little boy?' 'Yes, by God, I do indeed,' he responded. Muḥammad, therefore, ordered him to be imprisoned, and he remained confined until Muḥammad was killed."

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553. Jusham b. Muʿāwiyah was a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribal group. *EI*[2], s.v. Hawāzin (W. Montgomery Watt); Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 81, 99–100; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 268–69.

554. His name is unknown (Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 230–31), but Iṣfahānī gives his mother's name as Rakhayyah.

555. Ṭabarī quotes these lines again at III, 194, with slight variation.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ziyād—his father: Muḥammad said, "I was going hither and thither in al-Ḥarrah[556] when suddenly I saw Riyāḥ and the horsemen. Quickly I turned away toward a well and stood between its two supporting posts. I had begun to draw water when Riyāḥ met me flat on. "God confound him," he said; "he's a true desert Arab with a good, strong arm!"

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah[557]—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juhanī—ʿUthmān b. Mālik: With his searching Riyāḥ made Muḥammad feel quite uneasy. Muḥammad said to me, "In the morning, come with us to the Mosque of Victory;[558] there we will pray to God." ʿUthmān continued, "I said the morning prayer, then went to him, and we set off together in the early morning. Muḥammad was wearing a rough shirt and a cloak of fine white linen.[559] We left the place where he had been, but drawing near the Mosque, he suddenly turned aside, for there was Riyāḥ with a group of his associates on horseback. I said to Muḥammad, "There's Riyāḥ! To God we belong and to Him is our return [i.e., the game is up!]." He said, paying him no heed: "Keep moving." So I moved on, though my feet would scarcely carry me. Muḥammad himself turned off the road and sat down, settling his back against something beside the road. He let the fringes of his cloak fall over his face. Now he was a well-built man, but when Riyāḥ stood opposite him, he turned to his companions and said, "A woman has seen us and she is embarrassed." ʿUthmān continued: I kept moving until the sun ascended, at

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556. Broadly conceived, al-Ḥarrah connotes the mountainous, lava-strewn region that stretches from the Yemen to Wādī al-Qurā; more specifically, it applies to an area on the northeastern side of Medina that was the site of bloody revolt against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in 63/683. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 76; *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 245; Kister, "Battle of the Ḥarra."

557. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah al-Makhzūmī (d. after 179/795) was a historian and traditionist of Medina and an associate of Mālik b. Anas. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 101–2; *GAS*, I, 343–44; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, IX, 191.

558. Masjid al-Fatḥ was a mosque in Medina associated with Muḥammad's victory over the Meccans. *EI*², s.v. Masdjid (J. Pedersen et al.).

559. *Wa-ʿalā Muḥammadin qamīṣun ghalīzun wa-ridāʾun furqubiyyun.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *fatala* and *furqub* for *qurqub*.

which time Riyāḥ came, went up and prayed two parts of the prayer cycle, and then left in the direction of Buṭḥān.[560] At this [169] point Muḥammad approached and entered the Mosque, where he said both the ritual prayer and a private prayer.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh continued to move about from place to place until his open rebellion. When the matter of Muḥammad had begun to prove wearisome for al-Manṣūr and he had not been able to lay hands on him, even though ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan remained imprisoned, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿīd said to Abū Jaʿfar (in what is mentioned on the authority of ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah): "Commander of the Faithful, do you want Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm to be brought before you while the Ḥasanids are allowed to go free? The people hold any one of them in more awe than a lion!" ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said that it was this that induced Abū Jaʿfar to imprison the Ḥasanids. Then the caliph summoned him and asked, "Who suggested this idea to you?" "Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān,"[561] he replied. When ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Saʿīd, who was a confidential agent for Abū Jaʿfar and custodian of the voluntary alms, died, the caliph put Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān in his position and ordered seizure of the Ḥasanids.

According to ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Abū Jaʿfar commanded Riyāḥ to arrest the Ḥasanids, sending Abū al-Azhar al-Mahrī to him with that order. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan had already been imprisoned, his confinement lasting for three years. Out of mourning for ʿAbdallāh, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan had even neglected to dye his beard,[562] prompting Abū Jaʿfar to ask [tauntingly], "How are things with the woman in *ʿiddah*!"[563] Riyāḥ

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560. Buṭḥān was a *wādī* that lay in the western part of the city and supplied water to it. It is now the site of a recently constructed dam. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 446–47; *EI²*, s.v. al-Madīna (R. B. Winder); ʿAlī "Topography of Medina," 68.

561. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān b. Abī al-Mughīrah (d. 168/784) was appointed co-governor of Medina by al-Manṣūr in 155/771–72. Ṭabarī, III, 377; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 272–74; *GAS*, I, 93.

562. *Qad naṣala khiḍābahu tasalluban ʿalā ʿAbdallāh*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *naṣala* and *salaba*.

563. Although here said ironically of a man, *ʿiddah* is the period of sexual abstention mandated for a widowed or divorced woman. During this stage of her mourning, a widow would neither wear jewelry nor use cosmetics. *EI²*, s.v. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

arrested Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm,[564] the sons of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan;[565] and
[170] Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Dāwūd b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; and Muḥammad,[566] Ismāʿīl,[567] and Isḥāq, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan.[568] They seized ʿAbbās b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[569] at his gate. Although his mother, ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar, pleaded, "Just let me smell him,"[570] they told her, "No, by God, not while you are living in this world." [They also seized] ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan al-ʿĀbid.[571]

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm: With them Abū Jaʿfar imprisoned ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, the brother of ʿAlī.[572]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ publicly reviled Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons

564. Ibrāhīm's mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. He perished in prison at the age of sixty-seven, the first of the imprisoned Ḥasanids to die. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 187–88; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 342.

565. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā (d. circa 97/715–16). Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, 319–20; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 416–18; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 187.

566. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was best remembered for his sobriquet "the Golden Brocade" (*al-dībāj al-aṣfar*), a verbal tribute to his beauty. In fact, Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 200, reports that people used to go and visit this fellow simply for the delight of looking at him. Later, in Ṭabarī, p. 133, the name is rendered as "the Younger Brocade."

567. Ismāʿīl b. Ibāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was particularly remembered for his forebearance in tribulation. An account in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 199, compares him to gold bullion that is purified by fire. He was given the name Ṭabāṭabā—some sources say that it was his son Ibrāhīm's name—because of a mispronunciation. In Persian the name Ṭabāṭabāʾī has come to designate an individual who claims both maternal and paternal descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (B. Scarcia Amoretti); Haïm, *New Persian-English, II*, 299.

568. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 188–89, Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan, his son al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan, and his sons Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, were among the Ḥasanids who were spared by Abū Jaʿfar after the deaths of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Iṣfahānī cites competing reports about Isḥāq and Ismāʿīl, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, with one saying they were spared and another saying they were slain.

569. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 198, he was thirty-five years old when he died in al-Manṣūr's prison.

570. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 198, expands her plea to "just let me take a sniff of him and give him a hug."

571. See note 495, above.

572. For both ʿAbdallāh and ʿAlī, see Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 196.

of ʿAbdallāh, and heaped abuse upon the people of Medina. Moreover, one day in the pulpit he made mention of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, calling them "vicious, morally depraved, and brigands." Then he referred to their mother, the daughter of Abū ʿUbaydah,[573] speaking of her in obscene terms. The people exclaimed, "God be praised,"[574] and regarded his words as monstrous. At this Riyāḥ turned on them and said, "As for you people, we have not wearied[575] of heaping abuse on them. May God paste your faces over with shame and ignominy, for, by God, I shall certainly write to your caliph and inform him of your deceit and of your lack of sincerity." The people said, "We are not going to listen to you, O Son of the Unlawful."[576] They went for him with pebbles, so he took off and rushed into the Dār Marwān and bolted the door behind him. At this the people went out and lined up facing him. They shot at him and called him names. Finally, they gave up and desisted.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—someone he considered trustworthy: Imprisoned with them were Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, as well as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan[577] as soon as he arrived from Egypt.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent his son, ʿAlī, to Egypt. Someone reported him to the governor of Egypt when he had an impetuous attack in mind. The governor tied him up and sent him on to Abū Jaʿfar. ʿAlī confessed to caliph, naming his father's associates. Among those whom he named were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī[578] and Abū Ḥunayn. Abū Jaʿfar ordered the two of them imprisoned where Abū Ḥunayn was given 100 lashes. [171]

573. Hind bt. Abī ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbdallāh. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 232.

574. The sense here is shocked surprise, certainly not approval.

575. Reading it as *lā kalalnā*.

576. Ibn al-Maḥdūd.

577. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 201.

578. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reportedly knew the whereabouts of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, was in frequent personal contact with them, and called himself their *dāʿī*. Ṭabarī later, III, 187, includes a long account of the arrest and transporting of the Ḥasanids on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 284, gives his death date as 173/789–90. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 288.

According to 'Umar—'Īsā: Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan passed Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan when the latter was feeding some camels of his. Ḥasan asked, "How can you go on feeding your camels when 'Abdallāh is imprisoned! Untether them, boy!" Ibrāhīm did so, giving a [parting] shout behind them, and not a one of them was ever found [again].

According to 'Umar—'Īsā—'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī:[579] We were present at Riyāḥ's door into the reserved section (*maqṣūrah*) of the mosque. The muezzin called out: "Let any of the Ḥusaynids who are here now enter." My uncle, 'Umar b. Muḥammad,[580] said to me, "Watch what the people do." They entered by the door to the reserved section and left by the Marwān door.[581] Then the muezzin called out, "Let any of the Banū Ḥasan who are here now enter." They entered by the door to the ruler's section as blacksmiths entered by the Marwān door and fetters were called for.[582]

According to 'Umar—'Īsā—his father: When Riyāḥ had completed the morning prayer, he would send for me and for Qudāmah b. Mūsā and converse with us for a while. One day when I was with him, as we left there suddenly appeared a man who had muffled himself up in a head sash. Riyāḥ said to him, "Welcome and greetings! What do you wish?" The man replied, "I have come so that you can arrest me together with my people,"
[172] for, in fact, it was 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. "The Commander of the Faithful will certainly recognize what is due you!" exclaimed Riyāḥ. He then imprisoned 'Alī together with [other members of the] the Banū Ḥasan.

According to 'Umar—Ya'qūb b. al-Qāsim—Sa'īd b. Nāshirah, the *mawlā* of Ja'far b. Sulaymān: Muḥammad sent his son 'Alī away, but he was arrested in Egypt and died in Abū Ja'far's prison.

According to 'Umar—Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh

579. The only mention of him in Ṭabarī.

580. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī.

581. Bāb Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, was named for the Umayyad caliph (64–65/684–85) who served two terms as governor of Medina. For the *maqṣūrah*, a compartment for the ruler built near the *miḥrāb*, see *EI*², s.v. Masdjid (J. Pedersen et al.).

582. Hodgson "Early Shī'a," 10, notes this episode as one in which "certainly al-Manṣūr set the Ḥusaynids off visibly from them [i.e. the Ḥasanids]."

b. Ḥasan[583]—his father—his father, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: When we were jailed, the prison was too cramped for us. My father therefore asked Riyāḥ to allow him to buy a house that he could convert into our place of arrest. Riyāḥ granted permission, so my father bought a house, to which we were moved. When our imprisonment had gone on for a long time, Muḥammad came to his mother, Hind, and said, "I have laid upon my father and my uncles something that they find an impossible ordeal. I have it in mind to put my hand in theirs so that perhaps they may be freed." Disguising herself and dressed in rags, Hind came to the prison in the guise of a messenger. She was given permission to enter, and when my father saw her, he made sure it was she and rose up to meet her. She told him what Muḥammad had said, but he replied, "On no account [should he do that]; we can endure it. But, by God, I do hope that God confers something good on him. My advice to him would be that he should continue to summon supporters to his cause and to press it intensely, for our relief is in God's hands." Hind then left, but Muḥammad fulfilled his purpose.

In this year the descendants of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī were transported from Medina to Iraq.

The Reason [the Descendants of Ḥasan] Were Transported to Iraq and How Matters Stood for Them at That Time

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his father—his father: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage, he sent Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[584] and Mālik b. [173]
Anas[585] to our associates [in prison], asking them to urge

583. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was a Baghdādī traditionist whose grandfather was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's brother. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 39–40; Nagel, "Bericht," 244.

584. Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, known as Abū Sulaymān, was a judge in Medina for the Umayyads and for al-Manṣūr. On the occasion of his death in 154, Abū Jaʿfar reportedly said, "Today Quraysh has been leveled." Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 235.

585. Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) was a renowned traditionist and jurist and eponymous founder of the Mālikī *madhdhab*. *EI²*, s.v. (J. Schacht). For Abū Jaʿfar's connection with Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 86–88.

Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh, to come to him. The two messengers entered our presence while my father [ʿAbdallāh] was standing in the ritual prayer and announced the caliph's message to those who were there. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan said, "This is all the doing of those two sons of an inauspicious mother. By God, this does not represent our view nor accord with our way of thinking.[586] I'm telling you frankly." Ibrāhīm approached him and said, "Why would you harm your brother through his two sons and harm your brother's son through his mother?" My father concluded his ritual prayer,[587] so Muḥammad and Mālik b. Anas gave him the message. "No, by God," he answered, "I shall not give you a word in response. If he wishes to give me permission to meet him, then let him do so." The two men went away and gave their report to the caliph. Abū Jaʿfar commented, "He simply wants to bewitch me,[588] but, by God, his eye will not see mine until he brings me his two sons."

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah: I heard one of our learned men say that ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan never spoke privately to anyone without cajoling him away from the judgment he had already made.

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his father—his grandfather: The Commander of the Faithful, Abū Jaʿfar, continued on toward his destination as a pilgrim,[589] but then started back without entering Medina, rather passing on to al-Rabadhah[590] until he came to the stream in its valley.[591]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The Ḥasanids remained imprisoned within Riyāḥ's juris-

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586. *Mā hādhā ʿan mulāʾamatinā.* Ṭabarī, *Addendda et Emendanda,* p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium,* s.v. *laʾuma.*

587. Or abandoned it [as being vitiated by the interruption].

588. *Arāda an yasḥaranī.* The Leiden edition records the alternative reading, *yaskhara bī,* "to make fun of me" (see also Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 539, with *yusakhkhiranī*), but notes confirmation of the selected reading in the account from Ibn Zabālah that follows.

589. *Sāra li-wajhihi ḥājjan.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *wajuha.*

590. Al-Rabadhah was a stage on the route from al-Kūfah to Mecca; its remains are situated about 200 kilometers to the southeast of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān,* III, 24–25; Cornu, *Répertoires,* 82. Recent excavations at this site have been described and lavishly illustrated in Rāshid, *Al-Rabadhah.*

591. *Thinā rahwatihā.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *thanā*; Groom, *Arabic Topography,* 237.

diction until Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in 144. At that time Riyāḥ met with the caliph in al-Rabadhah, and the latter sent him back to Medina with orders to dispatch the Ḥasanids to him, together with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān,[592] who was the brother of the Ḥasanids on their mother's side. (The mother of them all was Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭālib.) [174] Riyāḥ, therefore, sent for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr when he was with his goods and property in Badr,[593] and had him brought down to Medina. Then Riyāḥ left with the Ḥasanids and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr for al-Rabadhah. When he came to Qaṣr Nafīs,[594] about three miles (*amyāl*, *sing. mīl*)[595] from Medina, he called for the blacksmiths, shackles, and fetters and threw every man of them into a foot shackle and neck iron. The two fettering rings on ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan's shackle were too tight. They cut into him, causing him to moan. His brother, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, swore at him, saying that they should transfer his rings to ʿAbdallāh if they were more commodious. So the rings were transferred to ʿAbdallāh and Riyāḥ proceeded to al-Rabadhah with them.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Khālid, the son of Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir's[596] sister—Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ,[597] the maternal uncle of his mother: When the Ḥasanids were transported to Abū Jaʿfar, shackles with which to fetter them were brought forth. At the time, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was standing in the ritual prayer.

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592. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, the great-grandson of the third caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, was known as "the Brocade" (*al-dībāj*) because of his physical beauty. As a half-brother of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, he was a maternal uncle of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, and his own mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 224–25.

593. Also known as Badr Ḥunayn, it is a town southwest of Medina chiefly remembered for the victory the Prophet Muḥammad secured there in 2/624 against Meccan forces. *EI*^{2}, s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 357–58.

594. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14, this citadel stood in the Ḥarrah area of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 364, marks its connection to Nafīs b. Muḥammad, a *mawlā* of the Anṣār of Medina.

595. A *mīl* is the equivalent of about two kilometers. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

596. Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥusayn b. Qays, who died in the first part of the third/ninth century, was secretary to the vizier Khālid b. Barmak. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1089.

597. Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ b. ʿUbayd b. Mukhāriq was a Baṣran traditionist who died in 173/789. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 107; *GAS*, I, 94.

Now among the shackles there was a particularly heavy one. Each time it was brought near to any of them, the man would shrink back from it and ask to be exempted. But ʿAlī, turning from his prayer, said, "Because you are so manifestly anxious, this obvious display of pain suffices him."[598] He then stretched forth his feet and was shackled with it.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān: The one who brought them down to al-Rabadhah was Abū al-Azhar.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah—Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn:[599] Early one morning I went to the mosque. There I saw the Ḥasanids being led out of the Dār Marwān on their way to al-Rabadhah in the company of Abū al-Azhar. I then left and, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad[600] having sent for me, I went to him. "What's on your mind?" he asked." I replied that I had seen the
[175] Ḥasanids being taken out in litters. He asked me to sit down, which I did, and then summoned one of his servants. Next he made many supplications to his Lord and then said to his servant, "Go on out, and when they have been carried off, come back and tell me." Eventually the messenger came to him and said, "Abū al-Azhar is approaching with them." Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad stood up and stepped behind a hair screen from which he could look out without being seen. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came into view riding in a litter with one of the ʿAbbāsid partisans[601] seated on the other side as a counterbalance. His entire family was being treated likewise. When Jaʿfar looked upon them, his eyes overflowed until his tears ran down his beard. Then he came up to me, saying, "By

598. *Sharʿuhu hādhā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sharaʿa*.

599. Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh, was also known as *Dhū al-Damʿah* ("the Tearful") because he wept so much. Ṭabarī, III, 2557; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 387–89; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 367.

600. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAbdallāh (d. 148/765), known as al-Imām al-Ṣādiq ("the Trustworthy Imām"), refined the foundational doctrines of Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿism. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 387, notes that Ḥusayn b. Zayd lived with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq for a period and was instructed by him. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 255–70; *EI*², s.v. D̲jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (M. G. S. Hodgson); Omar, "Aspects," 171–76.

601. *Musawwid*, i.e., "Wearer of the Black," because the ʿAbbāsids used this as a representational color. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 50–51; ʿAthamina, "Black Banners."

God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, when these are gone, God will no longer be honored!"[602]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān:[603] At the time when the Ḥasanids were taken away, al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām encountered them in al-Rabadhah and exclaimed, "Praise God who has expelled you from our country." Ḥasan b. Ḥasan stuck out his neck in defiance of al-Ḥārith, but ʿAbdallāh adjured him to remain silent.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibn Abrūd, the chamberlain of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh: During the time when the Ḥasanids were being transported, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm used to come alongside disguised as desert Arabs. They would walk next to their father, questioning him and requesting his permission to come forth in open revolt. He, however, kept saying, "Don't be in a hurry until you are in a position to do so [successfully]." He also said to them, "If Abū Jaʿfar prohibits you from living nobly, he does not prevent you from dying nobly."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When the Ḥasanids reached al-Rabadhah, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān came into Abū Jaʿfar's presence wearing only a shirt, a headwrap (*sāj*), and waist wrapper (*izār*) under his shirt.[604] As he came to a standstill before the caliph, [176]
Abū Jaʿfar said, "You there, what a pimp you are!" "Praise be to God," replied Muḥammad, "you have certainly known me to be

602. Compare Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 524: *lā yaḥfaẓu allāhu ḥaramayhi baʿda hāʾulāʾi*, "when these are gone, God will no longer protect the two sacred places (i.e., Mecca and Medina)."

603. Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (as given in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 552, but this is corrected by Nagel, "Bericht," 235, to Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr) was descended from al-Zubayr al-Ḥawārī (see note 519), the Prophet Muḥammad's apostle, whose son Muṣʿab was governor of al-Baṣrah during the anticaliphate of his brother ʿAbdallāh. Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān's grandfather, ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/712), was a renowned jurisprudent and traditionist in Medina. *EI*[1], s.v. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair (H. Lammens) and ʿUrwah b. Zubair (V. Vacca); *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s.v. Fuḳahāʾ al-Madīna al-Sabʿa (C. Pellat); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 226; *GAS*, I, 278–79.

604. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1459–60, *sāj* designates a dark or ash-colored or black *ṭaylasān*. See also Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 541 n. 2. For the *izār*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 34–35, and Dozy, *Vêtements*, 24–38.

otherwise, both as a child and as an adult." "Then how did your daughter[605] get pregnant?" asked Abū Jaʿfar. "She was still wed to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan even though you swore to me that, by her being divorced and set free, you would not intrigue against me or join forces with an enemy [of mine]. You then come upon your daughter and find her with henna-dyed hands[606] and wearing perfume. Subsequently you see that she is pregnant, and yet her pregnancy does not alarm you. Certainly you are either a perjurer or a pimp! I swear by God that I'm of a mind to have her stoned." Muḥammad said, "As to the solemn oath I gave you, it remains incumbent upon me. If I had entered into any sort of deceit against you, I would certainly be aware of it. As for the aspersions that you have cast upon this poor girl, God has placed her above that by descent from the Messenger of God. When her pregnancy became visible, I assumed that her husband had cohabited with her at some time when we were not watching her carefully." Abū Jaʿfar was deeply angered by what he said and commanded that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's clothes be ripped off. His shirt was torn away from his waist wrapper and his private parts exposed. The caliph then commanded that he be given 150 lashes. The blows robbed him of all resistance while Abū Jaʿfar rebuked him, not confining himself to insinuations.[607] After one of the lashes struck his face, Muḥammad said to the caliph, "Woe betide you, stay away from my face; the Messenger of God has made it inviolable." At this Abū Jaʿfar urged on the whipper, saying, "[Go far] the head, the head." Muḥammad was thus beaten about the head some thirty blows. The caliph then called for a wooden yoke as long as Muḥammad was tall—Muḥammad was a tall man—and had it secured to his neck, with his hand being fastened to it as well. Then he sent him off thus trussed up. When he was brought forth from Abū Jaʿfar's chamber, one of his *mawlās* rushed up to him, saying, "You are as dear
[177] to me as my father and my mother, should I not wrap you in my

605. Ṭabarī later, III, 178, gives her name as Ruqayyah.

606. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaḍaba*. For women to have the backs of their hands dyed with henna is still a common festive practice throughout the Muslim world, particularly in anticipation of marriage.

607. *Yaftarā ʿalayhi wa-lā yaknī*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV; *Glossarium*, s.v. *kanā*.

cloak?" "O yes," Muḥammad said, "you will be well recompensed. By God, the slits in my waist wrapper are harder for me to bear[608] than the beating that I sustained." The *mawlā* put his cloak around Muḥammad and took him to his imprisoned associates.

According to ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. Hishām—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān—Muḥammad b. Hāshim b. al-Barīd, the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiyah: I was in al-Rabadhah at the time when the Ḥasanids were brought there bound in chains. With them was al-ʿUthmānī, looking as if he were fashioned of silver.[609] They were made to sit down, but it was not long before a man came out from Abū Jaʿfar's presence and said, "Where is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī?" Muḥammad stood up and went in. Within a short time we heard the crack of whips. At this Ayyūb b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī[610] said to his sons, "My sons, I see a man who has no mercy in his heart for anyone. Watch out for yourselves. Don't let a word escape you."[611]

Muḥammad was brought forth looking like a black (*zanjī*); the blows had changed the color of his complexion and made his blood run down. One of the lashes had struck an eye so that blood flowed from it. He was made to sit beside his brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. Being thirsty, Muḥammad asked for a drink of water. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan thus said, "O my brethren, who will give a drink of water to the offspring of the Messenger of God?" But the people held back from him and would not give him a drink until finally a Khurāsānī came forward with water. He slipped it to Muḥammad, and Muḥammad drank. We waited for a little while longer until Abū Jaʿfar emerged riding in one side of a litter on a light-colored mule with al-Rabīʿ counterbalancing him in the litter on the right. ʿAbdallāh called out to him, "By God,

608. *La-shuqūqu izarī ashaddu ʿalayya*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.

609. I.e. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who was known as "the Brocade." See note 592.

610. Ayyūb b. Salamah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī was witness to the dismissal of ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān as governor of Medina during the caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and appears as a defendant in the financial allegations made against the Prophet's great-great-grandson Zayd b. ʿAlī by Khālid b. ʿAdballāh al-Qasrī (or by his son Yazīd), an Umayyad governor of Iraq. Ṭabarī, II, 1282, 1668–69.

611. *Lā tusqiṭū bi-shayʾin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *saqaṭa*.

Abū Jaʿfar, we didn't treat your captives like this on the Day of Badr!" Abū Jaʿfar shooed him away, spitting at him[612] and passing on without stopping.

It is said that when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī en-
[178] tered the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph questioned him about Ibrāhīm. "I know nothing of him," replied Muḥammad. At this Abū Jaʿfar hit him in the face with the mace (*jurz*).[613]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: Abū Jaʿfar continued to have a good opinion of Muḥammad until Riyāḥ said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, the people of Khurāsān are your party and your supporters, whereas the people of Iraq are adherents of the family of Abū Ṭālib. As for the people of Syria, by God, in their eyes ʿAlī is nothing but an infidel, and they reckon nothing of any of his progeny. Yet Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr [b. ʿUthmān] is their brother; were he to call out the people of Syria, not a man of them would let *him* down." These words made a deep impression on Abū Jaʿfar. When he made the Pilgrimage, Muḥammad came to him and the caliph said, "Muḥammad, is your daughter not the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan?" He said, "Yes, but I've had no dealings with him except at Minā[614] in the year such and such." The caliph asked, "Did you see your daughter when she had her hair dyed and dressed?" Muḥammad said that he had. "So she's an adulteress!" exclaimed the caliph. "Hold it, Commander of the Faithful!" said Muḥammad; "would you say such a thing about the daughter of your paternal uncle?" "You son of an uncircumcised woman!" retorted Abū Jaʿfar. "Which of my mothers was uncircumcised?" inquired Muḥammad. "You son of a whore!" exclaimed the caliph. Then he struck Muḥammad full face with the mace and knocked him out.[615] Ruqayyah, the daughter of

612. *Wa-tafala ʿalayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV; *Glossarium*, s.v. *tafala*.

613. Presumably a small ceremonial mace; a large one could kill, and was considered a most effective close-quarters weapon.

614. Minā is a site on the way from Mecca to ʿArafāt where the pilgrims gather to perform the rites of stoning and sacrifice. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥadjdj (B. Lewis).

615. *Wa-ḥaddadahu*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadda*. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 543 n. 1. interprets this emendation as *shaqqa jildahu*, i.e., "and broke his skin."

Muḥammad, was the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. Of her he says:

My friends of Qays, refrain from rebuke and sit down.
Does it gladden you that I sleep not but you can slumber?
I pass the night as if on fire with memories of
Ruqayyah, like a live coal of *ghaḍā* wood flaming forth.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad—Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. Ḥasan: On only one day did I see ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan truly distressed from any of the afflictions he sustained. That was because Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān's [179]
camel started off while he was inattentive and unprepared. There was a chain on his feet and a yoke on his neck. He fell over, and the yoke became entangled in the litter. I saw him suspended by his neck, thrashing about, and at this I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan weep bitterly.

According to Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā—my father—his father:[616] When we reached al-Rabadhah, Abū Jaʿfar sent word to my father, saying, "Send me one of your family, knowing that he will never return to you." His brothers' sons rushed to him, offering themselves to him. My father praised their good intentions but said, "I would hate to afflict my brothers with the loss of you; Mūsā, you go." So I went, at that time being still young. When the caliph caught sight of me, he said, "May God make no eye refreshed by sight of you;[617] scourge him, slave." By God, I was beaten until I lost consciousness and was no longer aware of the beating. Finally, they stopped flogging me. The caliph asked for me to be brought near him. He came still closer and said, "Do you know what's happening to you? This is a deluge flowing from me. I have now emptied one unreturnable bucket of it. On its heels is death—or you can ransom yourself from it." "O Commander of the Faithful," I implored, "by God, I'm not to blame; truly I am on the sidelines of this affair." "Go away, then," he said, "and bring me your two brothers." I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, you are going to send me to Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, who will put spies and observers on to me. I won't be able to take

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616. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, a brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.
617. *Lā anʿama allāhu bika ʿaynan*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 230.

any road without one of his messengers following me. Being well aware of that, my two brothers will flee from me!" The caliph therefore wrote to Riyāḥ informing him that he had no authority over Mūsā.

Mūsā continued: With me the caliph sent an armed escort with orders to keep him informed of my activities by letter. I reached Medina and stayed for several months at Dār Ibn Hishām[618] in al-Balāṭ. Riyāḥ, therefore, wrote to the caliph to say
[180] that Mūsā was staying at Dār Ibn Hishām eagerly watching for the Commander of the Faithful's fortunes to change. His letter continued, "When you read this letter of mine, send Mūsā [directly] down to me,"[619] and the caliph did so.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Mūsā: My father sent word to Abū Jaʿfar, saying, "I am writing to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, so send Mūsā, who may be able to effect a meeting with them." Their father then wrote to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, telling them to come to him, while to me he said [privately]: "Tell them from me that on no account should they come." His sole purpose was to get me out of the caliph's power. He had a soft spot for me even though I was but the youngest of Hind's[620] offspring. This is what he sent to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm:

O sons of Umayyah, I can do without you both.
    What good is wealth now that I am trembling and
    exhausted?
O sons of Umayyah, if you two have no pity for my old age;
    you and bereavement are but two of a kind.

I stayed in Medina with Abū Jaʿfar's messengers until Riyāḥ grew tired of my procrastination. He then wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about that, so the caliph had me sent down to him.

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618. Ṭabarī later, III, 193, identifies this as the jail. See also Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 120; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 81.

619. *Fa-iḥdirhu ilayya.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadara.*

620. Hind bt. Abī ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbdallāh, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's wife and mother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—ʿImrān b. Muḥriz of the Banū al-Bakkāʾ:[621] The Ḥasanids were taken to al-Rabadhah. With them were ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh, the two sons of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, whose mother was Ḥubābah bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Bishr b. ʿĀmir Mulāʿib al-Asinnah [the Spear-Juggler].[622] Ḥasan b. Ḥasan died in prison, as did ʿAbbās b. Ḥasan—whose mother was ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan.

According to ʿUmar—al-Madāʾinī: When the Ḥasanids were taken forth, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan said: (ʿUmar adds: [181] "Someone other than Abū al-Ḥasan [i.e. al-Madāʾinī] had already recited this poem of Ghālib al-Hamadānī to me"):[623]

What you recall of ruins, of wastes, and of whether household
    members are far or near to you,
Is but foolishness when white hair has covered you with a color
    like cotton.
Fifty of your years have passed, as
    the counters would count for you if they reckon.
Distant is the memory of youth.[624] It is yours no longer.
    Youth shall not come round to you again.
Worries have fallen upon me and worry has settled upon my
    pillow; my heart is shattered.
The people were taken out to misfortune, still I was made[625]
    for an age with a hump in its back.

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621. Bakkāʾ b. ʿĀmir were a clan of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. They are mentioned when Ṭabarī, I, 2491, discusses the creation of al-Kūfah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 107, II, 221.

622. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 196, identifies her as Umm ʿAbdallāh bt. ʿĀmir.

623. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, introduces this poem as follows: "In that which ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAtakī recounted to me on the authority of his father, who received it from Abū Zayd [i.e., ʿUmar b. Shabbah], who, in turn, received it from al-Madāʾinī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh said, recalling his father and his family and their transportation and imprisonment." In setting this poem, I have followed the Leiden text's pattern, i.e., not breaking the hemistichs where they are not broken in the text.

624. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 545, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, read: *fa-ʿaddi dhikra al-shabāb*, "so abandon the memory of youth."

625. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 545, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, read: *wa-khulliftu li-dahrin*, "I was left behind for an age . . ."

It is awry; the ignoble find it sweet.
And [even] the noble find it distasteful when they drink.[626]
My life here has been given for a hank of white hair and a shinbone, scarred from its shackles.
Well-born[627] lords were among his sons
but in his case no regard was had to God or lineage.
O links of the chain, what mercy and kindness you contain[628]
are tarnished by [his] high degree.
Female forebears from the noblest strains, fair, sensible and loving, have kept you pure.
What can be my excuse before God when
the fine, "wondrous" swords were not unsheathed for you?
Nor did I lead a massed raid, for which
the daughters of the pure-born were selected.[629]
The fleetest steeds and the spearheads with sharp points on them
To recompense the Banū Nutaylah[630] in just measure for the measure they have milked.
Murder for murder; and for the captive in bonds,
[there shall be] captives, shackled, bereft.
The family of the Messenger Aḥmad have become, among men,
like one mangy with scabs on him.
[182] Woe betide them for what their blades have committed.
O, what a lifeline from a people they have cut off!
And with what a strand have they betrayed the King[631]
Tied with a promise, while its knots are lies!

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd—al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿUmar, Khāqān b. Zayd, and others of his associates: When they brought ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family in shackles and stood with

626. *Wa-yajtawīhi al-kirāmu in sharibū*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
627. *Wa-al-sādata al-ghurra*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
628. Ironically.
629. *Banātu al-ṣarīḥi tuntakhabu*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
630. See note 476.
631. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 229, reads: *wa-ayyu ʿahdin khānū al-ilāhu bihi*.

them before al-Najaf,[632] ʿAbdallāh said to his family, "Don't you know of anyone in this town who could defend us from this tyrant?" The two sons of Ḥayy,[633] al-Ḥasan[634] and ʿAlī, met him wrapped so as to conceal two swords. They said to ʿAbdallāh, "We have come to you, son [i.e., descendant] of the Messenger of God; command us to do what you want." "You have done your duty," ʿAbdallāh replied, "but you cannot prevail against these [people]." With this they went away.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Abū Jaʿfar ordered Abū al-Azhar to imprison the Ḥasanids at al-Hāshimiyyah.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm: The Ḥasanids were brought before Abū Jaʿfar. He took a look at Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan and asked, "Are you the 'Younger Brocade'?"[635] When Muḥammad said that he was, the caliph exclaimed, "By God, you I shall kill as I have killed no other member of your family." Then he ordered a column that had been built to be split apart. Muḥammad was put inside and was built over while still living.

According to Muḥamad b. al-Ḥasan—al-Zubayr b. Bilāl: People would frequently visit Muḥammad simply to gaze at his beauty.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān—Abū al-Azhar: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan said to me, "Try to get a cupper (*ḥajjām*)[636] for

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632. Al-Najaf is a town just southwest of al-Kūfah and is a major Shīʿī pilgrimage site. The tomb of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is an important monument, despite some differences in the early sources about his place of burial. *EI*², s.v. al-Nadjaf (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 271–72.

633. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 526, gives this as "the two sons of his brother." An alternative version is provided by Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 295, where al-Ḥasan and ʿAlī are identified as the sons of Ṣāliḥ. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, VI, 400, records an ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy.

634. Ṭabarī, III, 2526, mentions al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy in the obituary list for the year 161/777–78. He was the father-in-law of ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī, whom he concealed after Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's death. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 204.

635. Ibrāhīm's edition VII, 546, reflects Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's more common sobriquet "the Golden Brocade," but the one given here may have been used to distinguish him from his relative, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, who was known simply as "the Brocade," or it may be a scribal confusion of *fāʾ* and *ghayn*.

636. Cupping involved drawing blood to the surface of the body by application of a heated glass vessel.

me; I am in dire need of one." I therefore asked permission of the
[183] Commander of the Faithful, who said, "Bring him an eminent cupper."

According to ʿUmar—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn:[637] Thirteen of the Ḥasanids were imprisoned. Al-ʿUthmānī and two of his sons were imprisoned with them in Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah,[638] which was east of al-Kūfah in the area that lies toward Baghdad. The first of them to die was Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan, then ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. The latter was buried near the place where he died, perhaps not in the tomb that people claim as his, but close to it.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was imprisoned near Abū Jaʿfar, who was aware of his innocence. However, Abū ʿAwn[639] eventually wrote from Khurāsān to inform the Commander of the Faithful "that the people of Khurāsān are avoiding me; the matter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has gone on too long for their liking." At that, Abū Jaʿfar ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr to be beheaded and sent his head to Khurāsān, swearing to them that it was the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who was descended from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God.

According to ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. Hishām—his father: When Abū Jaʿfar went to al-Kūfah, he said, "I cannot vent my anger enough upon this vile member of a vile house." He summoned Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh [b. ʿAmr] and asked, "Did you marry your daughter to ʿAbdallāh's son?" "No," said Muḥammad. The caliph continued, "But is she not his wife?" "Yes," he said, "her

637. Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn al-Mulāʾī (d. 219/834) was a historian and *muḥaddith* who lived in al-Kūfah and transmitted considerable information about Ṭālibids and ʿAlids. *EI*², s.v. (F. Rosenthal); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 142–57; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 278.

638. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah was a city founded by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah that lies midway between Baghdad and al-Kūfah. Lassner cites this mention in Ṭabarī as an instance in which Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah has been mistakenly identified with Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. Both Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 526, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 225, give the same place name. *EI*², s.v. (J. Lassner) and s.v. al-Hāshimiyya; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Lassner, *Shaping*, 151–58.

639. Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Khurāsānī was an important commander in the service of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionaries. He then served as governor of Egypt and of Khurāsān. Although he was dismissed from the latter position by al-Mahdī, he was allowed to intercede with the caliph on behalf of his son, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAwn. Ṭabarī, III, 477, 536–37; *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zettersteén); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 48.

uncle and his father, i.e. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, contracted the marriage between them, and I gave my consent to his consummation of the marriage." The caliph then asked, "What about the assurances that you gave me?" "I am bound by them," replied Muḥammad. The caliph said, "Didn't you become aware of the dyeing with henna? Didn't you perceive the fragrance of perfume?" Muḥammad answered, "I have no knowledge of that. People knew what contractual obligations I have toward you, so that they kept all such things from me." The caliph said, "Would you like to ask me to release you from your obligations, so that I will discharge you and you can renew corresponding pledges to me?" [184] Muḥammad replied, "I have not broken my pledges, for you to reimpose them upon me. I have done nothing for which I should ask you to release me from my oath, so as to have you release me from it." At this the caliph ordered him to be beaten to death. Then he had his head severed and sent to Khurāsān. When ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan heard about that, he said, " 'We are God's and to him is our return'. By God, although we were safe with him in the time of their [Umayyad] authority, Muḥammad has been killed with us in the time of our [Hāshimī] authority."[640]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—Miskīn b. ʿAmr: When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr's beheading and then sent it [his head] to Khurāsān. Together with him he sent leading men who would swear by God that it was indeed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, descended from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God.

According to ʿUmar: I asked Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm why Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was killed. He replied, "There was a need for his head."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: ʿAwn b. Abī ʿAwn[641] succeeded his father as doorkeeper for the Commander of the Faithful. When Muḥamad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was actually killed, Abū Jaʿfar sent his head off to Abū ʿAwn in Khurāsān. With the head he dispatched Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-

640. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was a direct descendant of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 202.

641. For his father, see note 639.

Karrām[642] and ʿAwn b. Abī ʿAwn. When the head arrived there, the people of Khurāsān were suspicious and said, "Was he not killed once before and his head brought to us?" Then the story became clear to them, so that they realized what had really happened. People thereafter used to say, "Abū Jaʿfar was never known to have uttered any lie other than this."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Al-Shaʿbānī and I used to visit Abū al-Azhar when
[185] we were in al-Hāshimiyyah. Now Abū Jaʿfar would write to him, saying, "From ʿAbdallāh, the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful to Abū al-Azhar, his *mawlā*." Abū al-Azhar would write to Abū Jaʿfar, "From Abū al-Azhar, his *mawlā* and devoted servant." One day when we were with him—Abū Jaʿfar had given him leave for three days, during which time Abū al-Azhar did not function in his official capacity,[643] and we were alone with him on those days—a letter from Abū Jaʿfar came to him. Abū al-Azhar read it and tossed it aside. He then went off to see those of the Ḥasanids who were imprisoned. I reached for the letter and read it. In it the caliph had said, "Abū al-Azhar, do what I ordered you to do with Mudallah.[644] Be quick about it and discharge the matter." Al-Shaʿbānī read the letter and said, "Do you know who Mudallah is?" "No," I replied. "By God," al-Shaʿbānī said, "it's ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Watch what Abū al-Azhar does." We did not have long to wait before Abū al-Azhar came and sat down, saying, "By God, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan has perished." After a little while longer he went back in and then came out again looking downcast. "Tell me," he said, "about ʿAlī b. Ḥasan. What kind of man is he?" "Do you think that I'm a truthful man?" I asked. Al-Shaʿbānī replied, "Yes and more than that." "By God," I said, "he is the best of those whom this [earth] supports and this [heaven] overshadows."[645]

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642. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Karrām b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar. He is later ordered by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to identify Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's head. See p. 289.

643. *Thalātha ayyāmin lā yanūbuhā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nāba*.

644. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *daliha*, for its application to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan as signifying one who is out of his mind with sorrow.

645. *Khayru man tuqilluhu hādhihi wa-tuẓilluhu hādhihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qalla*. Another famous use of this expression is the statement often quoted from the first caliph, Abū Bakr: "What earth would bear me up, what heaven would overshadow me, were I to speak about the Qurʾān what I know not?" Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, I, 78.

"Well," replied Abū al-Azhar, "he's gone."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his grandfather, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: In prison we were aware of the appointed times for ritual prayer only because ʿAlī b. Ḥasan kept reciting short portions (*aḥzāb*, sing. *ḥizb*)[646] [of the Qurʾān].

According to ʿUmar—Ibn ʿĀʾishah[647]—a *mawlā* of the Banū Dārim:[648] I said to Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl,[649] "Why are you in such a hurry to revolt against this man?" Bashīr answered, "After arresting ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, Abū Jaʿfar sent for me, so I came to him. One day he ordered me to go into a certain house, which I did. There I beheld the corpse of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and fell in a dead faint. When I regained consciousness, I gave God my [solemn] word that no two swords would clash over the caliph's without my being on the side of the one against him. To the messenger [186] who was with me as his representatives I said, "Don't tell Abū Jaʿfar what I witnessed;[650] if he finds out about it, he will kill me.' "

According to ʿUmar: I told Hishām b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Rāshid,[651] a person from Hamadhān, the one known as "al-ʿAbbāsī," that Abū Jaʿfar had ordered ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan to be killed. Hishām swore by God that the caliph had not done so. Rather he had sent a secret message to ʿAbdallāh stating that Muḥammad had come forth in open revolt and had been killed. At this ʿAbdallāh's heart was broken, and he died.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh: One of the Ḥasanids who survived said that they were given poison[652] to drink and

646. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV, revises this to *Aḥzāb*, the title of the thirty-third *sūrah*. This *sūrah*, which begins in the middle of the forty-second *ḥizb*, is slightly under one-and-a-quarter *aḥzāb* in length. The *aḥzāb* divisions, however, each of which is one-sixtieth of the Qurʾān, may be comparatively recent. *EI*[1] and *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥizb (D. B. Macdonald).

647. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Taymī. See note 446.

648. Dārim b. Mālik were a clan of Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 231.

649. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV. Madelung, *Al-Qāsim und die Zaiditen*, 73, identifies him as a Muʿtazilī ascetic. He fell in the battle at Bākhamrā, i.e., the defeat of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh by ʿĪsā b. Mūsa. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 339–41.

650. *Lā takhburhu bimā laqītu*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

651. Al-Hamadhānī al-ʿAbbāsī.

652. *Kānū yusqūna al-samma*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

that they all died except Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Dāwūd b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; Isḥāq and Ismāʿīl, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; and Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan.[653] All[654] of them who were killed were murdered only after Muḥammad's open rebellion.

ʿĪsā also said: A woman who was a *mawlā* of the Ḥasan family looked at Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan and said, "By my soul, how well Abū Jaʿfar understands men, in that he let you go free but had ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan killed!"

The Remaining Account of Events for 144[655]

Among these events was Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr's transport of the descendants of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī from Medina to Iraq.

The Reason [Abū Jaʿfar] Had [the Descendants of Ḥasan] Transported to Iraq

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad[656]—Muḥammad b.
[187] Saʿd[657]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Abū Jaʿfar appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī as governor of Medina, he ordered him to search strenuously for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, not to treat them as of minor importance [as former governors had].

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī: Riyāḥ vigorously pressed the search for them, showing

653. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan had earlier been a litigant in the dispute between the Ḥasanids and the Ḥusaynids over the guardianship of the endowments (*wuqūf*) of ʿAlī. Ṭabarī, II, 1671–73.

654. *Kullu man qutila minhum*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

655. The Leiden text's editor, M. T. Houtsma, notes that this concluding section of year 144 is missing from the Algiers manuscript and in the Berlin manuscript has been placed at the end of the year 145.

656. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah Dāhir al-Tamīmī (d. 282/895) was a Baghdādī historian and traditionist. *GAS*, I, 160; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 218–19; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 260–61; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIII, 388–90.

657. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Manīʿ (d. 230/845), a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, was a Baghdādī traditionist and author of *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. He served as secretary (*kātib*) for Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Saʿd (J. W. Fück); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, V, 321–22.

no leniency.[658] He used all means at his disposal in that effort, with the result that Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm became fearful and began to move about from place to place. Increasingly concerned with his desire to lay hands on them, Abū Jaʿfar wrote ordering Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān to seize their father, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, as well as his brothers, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, Dāwūd b. Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. This last mentioned was their brother by their mother, Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn. He was also to seize several others of the Banū Ḥasan, to shackle them, and to send them to the caliph in al-Rabadhah, for in this year Abū Jaʿfar had made the Pilgrimage.[659] He also wrote telling Riyāḥ that he should seize me along with the others. Riyāḥ, therefore, sent me to the caliph as well. Having just begun the Pilgrimage, I was overtaken, arrested, cast in irons, and carried off on a back road[660] until I came to them in al-Rabadhah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family being led forth from the Dār Marwān after the late-afternoon prayer. They were in irons and were transported in uncushioned litters. At that time I had already reached physical maturity, so I remember what I saw.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī: About 400 men from Juhaynah, Muzaynah[661] and other tribes were arrested with the Banū Ḥasan. I saw them in al-Rabadhah, standing in the sun with their hands bound behind their backs. I was imprisoned with ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family when Abū Jaʿfar came to al-Rabadhah after coming from the Pilgrimage. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan requested Abū Jaʿfar's permission to enter his presence. Abū Jaʿfar, however, refused and did not [188]
see ʿAbdallāh until he had left this world. Then Abū Jaʿfar summoned me from among the others, and I was allowed to sit until I was brought into the caliph's presence. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was with the

658. *Lam yudāhin* can also mean that he made no effort to dissemble or to mask his activities.

659. See p. 122 for the caliph's pilgrimage route.

660. *Wa-ʿūrida bī al-ṭarīqu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaraḍa*.

661. Muzaynah is reckoned genealogically among the subdivisions of Khindif. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 88, II, 439; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 201.

caliph, and upon seeing me he said, "Yes, Commander of the Faithful, he is the one. If you are forceful with him, he will tell you where they are." I greeted him with a "Peace be with you," but Abū Jaʿfar said, "May God grant you no peace! Where are those two reprobates, the sons of a reprobate, those two deceivers, the sons of a deceiver?" I replied, "Will the truth avail me anything in your eyes, Commander of the Faithful?" "What do you mean?" he said. "May my wife be repudiated and other evils befall me if I know where they are!"[662] Not accepting that from me, he called for the lashes. I was made to stand between two flogging poles (*ʿuqābān*)[663] while he had me beaten 400 times. I was not conscious of the lashing until it was over, having been carried senseless to my associates. The caliph then sent for al-Dībāj, i.e., Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, whose daughter was the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. When Muḥammad was brought before him, Abū Jaʿfar said, "Inform me about those two deceivers, what they have done, where they are." "By God, Commander of the Faithful," Muḥammad answered, "I have no knowledge of them." At this the caliph retorted, "You had better give me information!" Muḥammad responded, "I have already told you—and by God, I am a truth-speaking man—previously I did have information about them, but today, I swear I know nothing of them." The caliph ordered him to be stripped. This was done, and he was given 100 lashes. An iron collar linking his hand to his neck[664] was fastened on him. When his whipping was finished, he was taken away, and a shirt of his made of pure white linen[665] was put on him over the effects of the beating. He was brought to us thus clothed and, by God, because of the shirt's sticking to the blood, they could not get it off him without milking a ewe over it. Then the shirt was stripped off, and they tended to him.

Abū Jaʿfar said, "Take them down to Iraq," so we were brought to al-Hāshimiyyah and confined there. The first of those who died in prison was ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. The jailer came and said, "The

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662. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *in*, for this substitution of the third person for the first.

663. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaqaba*, and Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2103.

664. *Jāmiʿatu ḥadīdin*. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 458.

665. *Qamīṣun qūhiyyun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāha*.

one among you most closely related to him should come forth and pray for him." His brother, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [189] went out and prayed for him. Then Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān died. His head was taken, and the caliph sent it to Khurāsān, accompanied by a group of the *shīʿah*. They made the rounds of the districts of Khurāsān, and began to swear by God that "this is the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, descendant of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God."[666] Thus they led the people to suppose it to be the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, the one whose revolt against Abū Jaʿfar they kept hearing about.

In this year the governor of Mecca was al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh, the governor of Medina was Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān al-Murrī, and the governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah was the governor of al-Baṣrah, while its judiciary was headed by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of Egypt was Yazīd b. Ḥātim.

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666. Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn was the mother, by different fathers, of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr and of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

The
Events of the Year
145
(April 1, 762–March 20, 763)

Among the events of this year was the revolt of Muhammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan in Medina and, later, the revolt of his brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in al-Baṣrah, and their eventual murders.[667]

The Rebellion of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and His Murder

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Abū Jaʿfar had the Ḥasanids brought down [to al-Rabadhah], Riyāḥ went back to Medina and pressed on with the search, narrowing in on Muḥammad until the latter decided to come out in open revolt.

According to ʿUmar: I recounted to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jaʿfarī[668] that Muḥammad had felt hemmed in and

667. Additional sources: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 235–50; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 449; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 378; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 381; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 452–53; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 181–94; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 189; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 529–54, Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 165–67; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 82–96; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 404–17.

668. A descendant of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

therefore rebelled before the time that he had settled upon with his brother Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm [b. Muḥammad] denied this version and said, "Muḥammad remained the object of such an intensive search that his son tumbled down [the mountainside] and died, a search that bore down on him to the point that he lowered himself into one of the wells in Medina [ostensibly] to draw water for his associates. He was plunged into it up to his head, but his body, which was bulky, could not be completely concealed. Even so, Ibrāhīm [b. ʿAbdallāh] postponed his timing because he was smitten with smallpox." [190]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The people of Medina were [all] discussing Muḥammad's uprising. We were in such a hurry to buy food that some people sold their wives' ornaments [to do so]. Riyāḥ heard that Muḥammad had come to al-Madhād[669] so he rode out toward there at the head of his army. Muḥammad had, in fact, left for al-Madhād before Riyāḥ, together with Jubayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī, Jubayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAṭāʾ,[670] and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī. But they overheard a water carrier tell her mistress that Riyāḥ had ridden out to al-Madhād in search of Muḥammad and that he had already reached the marketplace. Muḥammad's supporters, therefore, entered a house belonging to one of the Juhaynah, barring its door against Riyāḥ's men. Riyāḥ passed right by the door without realizing that they were inside and then returned to the Dār Marwān. When it was time for the last evening prayer, Muḥammad said the prayer in the house rather than going out.[671]

Some sources say that it was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[672] of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy[673] who informed Riyāḥ about Muḥammad.

According to al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—a source: I heard that ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr b. Abī Dhuʾayb and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b.

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669. Al-Madhād is a site where the Prophet Muḥammad had a trench dug during the siege of Medina in 8/627. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 88.

670. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts* 313 = *Opkomst*, 286, identifies this Jubayr with the Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Yaʿqūb mentioned in the list of Muḥammad's supporters cited by Ṭabarī, III, 259–60.

671. Or this could be Riyāḥ praying in the Dār Marwān?

672. Alternatively, b. Abī Samrah, following Ṭabarī, *Indices*.

673. For mention of this Qurashī subgroup in the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, see Ṭabarī, I, 1101–2. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 27, II, 160.

Jaʿfar[674] came to see Muḥammad before his uprising and said to him, "Why are you waiting to come out in open revolt?[675] By God, in this community we find no one more ill-fated for it than you. What keeps you from coming out in revolt on your own?"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Riyāḥ sent for us, so I
[191] came to him along with Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn,[676] Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,[677] ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,[678] and other leading men of Quraysh, including Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb b. Salmah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, whose son Khālid was with him. While with Riyāḥ in the Dār Marwān, we heard the cry *Allāhu akbar*, the sound of which overwhelmed everything else. We assumed that it was coming from the guardsmen's quarters, whereas they assumed that it was coming from the Dār. Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah,[679] who was also with Riyāḥ, jumped up and leaned upon his sword, exclaiming, "Do what I tell you with these people and cut off their heads!" ʿAlī b. ʿUmar cried, "By God, this very night we're on the verge of being destroyed!" which prompted Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to stand up and say, "What's that to you? We must act with loyalty and obedience." At this point Riyāḥ and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz rose and went into a cu-

674. Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. (Abī) al-Ḥakam b. Rāfiʿ (d. 153/770) was a respected traditionist known for his Qadarī views, but whose support of Muḥammad's uprising was deplored by such as Sufyān al-Thawrī. Muḥammad assigned him duties that included bearing his lance and heading his police forces. Ṭabarī, III, 292, later identifies him as a servant to Abū al-ʿAbbās. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 20–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 101–2; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 195, II, 124; Ṭabarī, III, 193, 199.

675. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 553, has this as "Why are we . . ."

676. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

677. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, known as "The Younger Ḥusayn," was the brother of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth *imām*, and was regarded as a trustworthy traditionist, quoted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nisāʾī. He died toward the end of the 150s. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 429–30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 299.

678. The grandson and great-grandson of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, respectively. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XXI, 348.

679. Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah was probably a descendant of Muslim b. ʿUqbah al-Murrī, the aged Syrian commander who quelled an anti-Ummayyad rebellion in Medina during the caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. He died in 64/683, on his way to Mecca to fight the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr. Ṭabarī, II, 409–27; *EI*[1] s.v. (H. Lammens).

pola (*junbudh*)[680] in the Dār Yazīd.[681] They stayed out of sight there while we got up and left by way of the Dār ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, continuing to the point where we had to scale a dung heap (*kiban*)[682] in the alley of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr.[683] Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb said to his son Khālid, "O my son, by God, I can't make this jump by myself, so lift me up." This his son did.

According to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān—his father: While Riyāḥ was in the Dār Marwān, news reached him that Muḥammad was coming out in open revolt that very night. He sent for my brother, Muḥammad b. ʿImrān, for al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās, and for several others. My brother went and I went with him, and we entered Riyāḥ's presence after the final evening prayer. We offered him our salutations, but he did not answer us. We sat down, and my brother said, "How is the Amīr—may God prosper him—this evening?" "Fine," Riyāḥ answered in a subdued voice. Then he [192]
was silent for a long time. Eventually he roused himself and said, "You people of Medina, the Commander of the Faithful has been seeking the object of his quest in the East of the earth and in the West while he has lived in hiding among you![684] I swear by God, if he comes forth in open rebellion, I shall not leave a single one of you with his head on his shoulders!" My brother said, "May God prosper you. I will be your surety[685] for him; this, by God, is false!" To this Riyāḥ responded, "You have the largest number of kinfolk of anyone here, and you are the *qāḍī* of the Commander

680. Arabicized form of Persian *gunbad(h)* or *gumbad(h)*. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 1099; Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v.

681. For Medina, Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 706, mentions both a Dār Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and a Dār Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. Later in the narrative of this year, III, 267, he cites both the Dār Marwān and the Dār Yazīd as army food depots.

682. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kabā*.

683. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr of the Banū Tamīm was both a cavalry soldier and a poet who fought with Khālid b. al-Walīd in the conquest of Iraq. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 378; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, III, 248–49. See also Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 111.

684. *Bayna aẓhurikum*. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1928, the expression carries the implication of staying among a people for the purpose of seeking aid of them, i.e., "as though it meant that the back of one of them was before him, and that of another behind him, so that he was defended in either direction." Muḥammad replies to this implication in his mosque oration on pp. 152–53. See also Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nafaqa*.

685. *Ana gharīruka minhum*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *gharra*.

of the Faithful. Go summon your kinfolk." My brother jumped up to leave, but Riyāḥ told him to sit down and said, "Thābit, you go."[686] So I rose quickly and sent word to the Banū Zuhrah,[687] who live in Ḥashsh Ṭalḥah,[688] Dār Saʿd, and Dār Banū Azhar, that they should ready their weapons. Various of them presented themselves. Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[689] who was one of the finest shots, came with a bow slung over his shoulder. When I saw what a large number they were, I entered Riyāḥ's presence and said, "Here are the Banū Zuhrah with their weapons, now with you, so give them permission to enter." "How absurd!" said Riyāḥ; "Do you intend to bring armed men into my presence at night?[690] Tell them to sit in the courtyard, and that if anything happens, they should fight." I therefore said to them, "He has refused to admit you. No, by God, there is nothing [for us] here! So sit down with us, and we will discuss matters."

We stayed for a little while, and then al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith left leading a contingent of cavalry to patrol as far as the top of al-Thaniyyah[691] He then went to his house and bolted it behind him. I tell you, we were in this very situation when two horsemen appeared from the direction of al-Zawrāʾ,[692] galloping to a halt between the Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ[693] and Raḥbat al-

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686. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān was known as Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhrī. See note 407.

687. Banū Zuhrah b. Kilāb were a branch of Quraysh. *EI*² s.v. Ḳuraysh (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 20, II, 611; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 128–35.

688. In his entry on Ḥashsh Kawkab, Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 262, refers to this site, which means "Ṭalḥah's Garden," as simply another place in Medina. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 112, associates this with Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah, i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār. Ṭabarī, I, 1386.

689. His great-grandfather Abū Waqqāṣ Mālik b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf was a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad's mother, Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 20; *EI*² s.v. Āmina (W. Montgomery Watt).

690. *Ṭurūqan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭaraqa*.

691. Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ, the "farewell promontory," was a mountain exit from the city of Medina on the road to Mecca, a spot from which travelers could take a final look at the city they were leaving. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 86; Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thanā*.

692. Al-Zawrāʾ was the area from which ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's house took its name. Ṭabarī, I, 2827, notes its construction in 28/648–49. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 156; Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 142–46; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 88.

693. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ, a Qurashī of the Banū Adī, first appears in Ṭabarī offering advice to al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Ṭālib but is best remembered as Ibn al-Zubayr's

Qaḍā',[694] at the place of drawing water. We said [to each other], "By God, haste is the evil here."[695]

Then we heard sound in the distance, so we stayed there for a long night. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh approached from al-Madhād along with 250[696] men. As he entered upon the [divergence] of the Banū Salimah[697] and the Buṭhān roads, he said, "Go by the way of the Banū Salimah so that you may be safe, God willing."[698] We heard a cry of *Allāhu akbar*, but then the sound died away. He drew closer until, having emerged from the alley of Ibn Ḥubayn,[699] he went deep into the marketplace as far as the date-sellers' area and passed through the basket-sellers' area. From there he reached the prison, which in those days was in the Dār Ibn Hishām, and breached it, releasing those who were there. Then he advanced until, when he was between the Dār Yazīd and the Dār Uways, we truly saw a terrifying sight. [193]

Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb alighted, unslung his quiver, and said, "Should I shoot?" but we told him not to. Muḥammad made a circle of the courtyard until he came to the Dār ʿĀtikah bt. Yazīd.[700] He sat down at its door while the people were skirmishing until a man of Sind was killed as he began his morning observance in the mosque. It was one of Muḥammad's partisans who killed him.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd[701] b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Jahm b. ʿUthmān: Muḥammad left al-Madhād riding on a donkey, and

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governor in al-Kūfah at the time of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd's uprising there. Ṭabarī, II, 232, 598–638.

694. Raḥbat al-Qaḍā' was the name of a mosque in Medina and of the neighborhood around it. Ṭabarī, I, 2792.

695. *Sharru al-amri wa-allāhu jiddun.*

696. The number is given as 150 in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 238, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 530.

697. Salimah b. Saʿd were a clan of the Khazraj tribe and were remembered for being among the earliest supporters of Muḥammad in Medina. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 174–76; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 594 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 879; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 190, II, 508; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 358–59.

698. The statement is a play of words on *Salimah* and the root *SLM*, which carries connotations of peace and safety.

699. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 118.

700. ʿĀtikah bt. Yazīd was the daughter of the second Umayyad caliph, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, wife of the fifth, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and mother of the ninth, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ṭabarī, II, 1174; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 552–53.

701. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

we accompanied him. He appointed Khawwāt b. Bukayr b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr[702] to head the foot soldiers and put ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar in charge of the [commander's] lance, saying, "Take care of it for me." ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd carried it, but then he asked to be released from doing so. Muḥammad released him and sent him off with his son, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad.[703]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rukānah: Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh sent his brother two loads of swords, which Muḥammad stored in al-Madhād. He sent for us on the night he made his uprising, and we were not even 100
[194] strong. Muḥammad rode a bedouin donkey with a black coat. Two roads diverged from there, the Buṭḥān road and the Banū Salimah road. We asked him which one we should take, and he said, "On the Banū Salimah road God will keep you safe." We continued on until we reached the Marwān Gate.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Zanbīl b. Nahshal,[704] one of the Banū Yarbūʿ[705]—Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī—a Qurashī *shaykh*:[706] The heavens beat down upon us for days in Medina. When the downpour subsided, toward the end of it I went out to feel the rain, removing myself some distance from Medina.[707] In fact, I was resting against my saddle when a man came upon me, seemingly out of nowhere, and sat down beside me. He was wearing filthy, ragged clothes and a tattered turban. I asked him, "Where have you come from?" "From a little flock I own," he replied; "I gave orders to its shepherd about something

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702. Khawwāt b. Bukayr was a descendant of one of the Anṣārī horsemen who fought at the side of the Prophet at the battle of Badr. According to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 426, he died in 40/660 at the age of ninety-four. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 443, 453 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 660, 675.

703. Abū al-Zift al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's wine drinking was later an indirect cause of the insurrection in Medina that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī mounted during the reign of the caliph Mūsā al-Hādī. Ṭabarī, III, 552–60; *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

704. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI. The *Indices* also suggests "b. Ratbīl" and makes a tentative identification with Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAbbās al-Bāhilī (d. 249/863). *GAS*, I, 20, 29, 79.

705. Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓalah was a clan of Tamīm. *EI¹*, s.v. Yarbūʿ (G. Levi della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 591.

706. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

707. *Kharajtu fī ghibbihā mutamaṭṭiran fa-intasaytu ʿan al-Madīnah*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *maṭara* and *nasaʾa*; *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

I needed and then came on here, heading for my people." 'Umar continued: I couldn't start down the road of any field of knowledge without his anticipating and even outdoing me[708] there. I began to be overcome by admiration of him and what he brought, so I said, "What people do you belong to?" "The Muslims," he replied. "Of course," I said, "but from which group of them are you?" "No need for you to continue,"[709] he replied. "But that's precisely what I must do," I insisted. "Now who are you?" At this he jumped up and said:

In tattered shoes he suffers sore feet (continuing to the end of
 the three verses [quoted earlier].)[710]

Then he turned and left. But, by God, hardly had he vanished from my sight than I regretted losing him before I had any knowledge of him. So I went after him to question him further, but it was as if the earth had closed over him. At this point I returned to my saddle and went on to Medina. But a day and a night passed before I witnessed the dawn ritual prayer in Medina, and there was a man leading us in prayer whose voice I recognized. He recited, "We have indeed made for you a clear victory."[711] When he finished he ascended the *minbar*, and who should it be but my [195]
acquaintance, who was, in fact, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan.

According to 'Umar—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd, a *mawlā* of Quraysh—Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah[712]—a man he named from whom he heard a similar story: Ismā'īl said, "I told it to a man of al-Anbār whose patronymic was Abū 'Ubayd. He mentioned that Muḥammad or Ibrāhīm had dispatched a man from the Banū Ḍabbah[713]—according to what Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd

708. *Wa-katharanī fīhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *kathura*.

709. *Lā 'alayka allā tazīda*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *'alā*.

710. P. 115.

711. Qur'ān 48:1

712. Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah was a descendant of Abū al-Ḥakam 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam b. 'Iyāḍ (d. 147/764), a blind Kūfan historian and genealogist who is credited with works on Mu'āwiyah and the Umayyads. *EI²*, s.v. 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī (Saleh El-Ali); Ziriklī, *A'lām*, V, 93; *GAS*, I, 307–8.

713. Ḍabbah b. Udd were an important Arab tribe who formed part of the Ribāb confederacy. In both al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, they were counted with

thought—so that the man could give him some knowledge of Abū Jaʿfar. The man came before al-Musayyab, who at that time was head of the police,[714] and sought to use his kinship connection with him. Al-Musayyab, however, said, "I've no choice but to take you before the Commander of the Faithful." He therefore took him to see Abū Jaʿfar, and the man confessed his identity. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Have you not heard Muḥammad [or Ibrāhīm] say (he repeated the lines):

Fear banished and disgraced him.
    Thus it is with one who hates the heat of battle."?

To this Abū Jaʿfar responded, "Inform him that we say:

O the shameful behavior we deem worse than death!
    Because of it we would bid death welcome."

The caliph then said, "You are discharged; now go and tell him that."

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ, who was an actual witness: Muḥammad came out in open revolt on the first day of Rajab in 145.[715] He and his confederates spent the evening in al-Madhād. Later that night they came forward and stormed the prison and the treasury. Muḥammad ordered Riyāḥ and Ibn Muslim imprisoned together in the Dār Ibn Hishām.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib:[716] Muḥammad made his uprising on 27 Jumādā II in 145.[717]

According to ʿUmar b. Rāshid:[718] He made his uprising on 27 Jumādā II in 145. On the night he came forth, I saw him wearing

Tamīm. Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, 89, II, 240; *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 203–6.

714. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 293, where Musayyab is mentioned as charged with the caliph's personal guard (*ḥaras*). Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, one of the revolutionary *nuzarāʾ al-nuqabāʾ*, served the first five ʿAbbāsid caliphs. His assignments included governing first Khurāsān and then the Jazīrah for al-Mahdī. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 219; Ṭabarī, III, 500; Crone, *Slaves*, 186–87.

715. Saturday, September 25, 762.

716. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 262, repeats this *isnād* with the addition of ʿUmar b. Rāshid as an eyewitness.

717. Wednesday, September 22, 762.

718. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as a *mawlā* of the Banū Anaj.

a yellow headdress of a quilted type,[719] a yellow robe,[720] one length of cloth that he used to bind up his breeches, another that he used as a turban, and a sashed sword. He started out saying to his confederates, "Do not kill! Do not kill!"[721] When the Dār [Marwān] proved inaccessible to them, he said, "Enter by the door to the reserved section [of the mosque]." However, they rushed blindly forward and set fire to the wicket door.[722] No one was able to pass through, so Rizām, al-Qasrī's *mawlā*, placed his shield on the fire and then walked across it. The people did what he did and entered through that door. Some of Riyāḥ's associates pushed hard against the door, but those who were with Riyāḥ in the Dār [Marwān] left via Dār ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz by way of the bathhouse. Riyāḥ, however, went up into[723] a latticed oriel in the Dār Marwān. Muḥammad ordered his men to climb up and tear it down. They went up to him, brought him down, and imprisoned him in the Dār Marwān. With him they imprisoned his brother, ʿAbbās b. ʿUthmān.[724] Muḥammad b. Khālid,[725] his nephew al-Nadhīr b. Yazīd, and Rizām had been in the prison, but Muḥammad had had them brought forth and then ordered al-Nadhīr to ensure the safety [in confinement] of Riyāḥ and his associates. [196]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Muḥammad imprisoned Riyāḥ, his nephew, and Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah in the Dār Marwān.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit[726]—his maternal uncle, Rāshid b. Ḥafṣ: Rizām said to al-Nadhīr, "Leave him to me. You saw how he harassed me." Al-

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719. *Qalanasuwatan ṣafrāʾa muḍarrabatan*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḍaraba*. For the *qalanasuwah*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 30, 52; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 365–71; *EI*², s.v. Libās (Y.K. Stillman et al.); Grabar, "Cérémonies umayyades," 55.

720. *Wa-jubbatan ṣafrāʾa*. For the *jubbah*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 40, 74; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 107–17.

721. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 530, reads *lā taqtulū illā yaqtulū*, i.e., "Do not kill unless they do."

722. For *bāb al-khawkhah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 411.

723. *Wa-taʿallaqa Riyāḥu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaliqa*; cf. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 238: *fa-ṣaʿida Riyāḥu mashrabatan fī al-dār*.

724. In the account of his death at the hands of Ibn Khuḍayr, he is characterized as "a righteous man." Ṭabarī, III, 242.

725. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, the former governor of Medina.

726. See note 407.

Nadhīr replied, "That's between you and him," and then stood up to leave. Riyāḥ said to Rizām, "O Abū Qays, I did to you what I had to even though I knew you would prevail." Al-Nadhīr said to him, "You did what you are suited for, and we shall do the same." Rizām reached for him, but Riyāḥ kept appealing to him until he
[197] left off, saying, "By God, you are insolent when in possession of power and are contemptible when afflicted."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. Saʿīd al-Jumaḥī: Riyāḥ imprisoned Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī Salīṭ, a descendant of the Anṣār, and also one of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf,[727] who said these lines while in prison:

The Qaysī noble forgets not the honor due him
    that men offer to men they trust.[728]
Whenever Saʿīd rattles the gate,
    we shamble toward him with the gawky gait of ostrichs.
Creeping like ants we match his march
    with small steps, not prideful strides.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—Ismāʿīl b. Yaʿqūb al-Taymī: Muḥammad ascended the *minbar*, gave praise and glory to God, and then said:[729] "Now then, you people, in the matter of this tyrant, the enemy of God, Abū Jaʿfar, you well know how he constructed the Green Dome,[730] which he built as a way of opposing God in His dominion and belittling the sacred Kaʿbah.[731] God seized Pharaoh simply for saying "I am your most exalted Lord."[732] Certainly the people with the strongest claim to

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727. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf was a division of Aws, one of the two main tribal groupings in pre-Islamic Medina. *EI*², s.v. al-Aws (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 177, II, 171.

728. *Mulqā al-rijāli ilā al-rijāli*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *laqiya*; Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 3012.

729. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 531.

730. The audience chamber of al-Manṣūr's palace in Baghdad was topped by a green dome (*al-qubbah al-khaḍrā'*) that rose to such a height (48.36 meters) that it could be seen from far beyond the city. As most sources date commencement of the construction of Baghdad to the year 145/762, reference to the dome in this sermon is probably an anachronism. *EI*², s.v. Baghdad (A. A. Duri); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–33; Lassner, *Topography*, 135.

731. The central sanctuary of the great mosque in Mecca, toward which Muslims orient themselves in prayer. *EI*² s.v. (A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier).

732. Qur'ān 79:24.

uphold this religion are the descendants of the first Muhājirūn[733] and the Anṣār[734] who assisted them.[735] O God, they [the ʿAbbāsids] have made lawful what You proscribed and have proscribed what You made lawful. They give security to the one You inspire with fear and [try to] frighten the one to whom You give security. O God, reckon them by number and kill them in Your might, omitting not a single one of them. O you people, by God I have not come out in revolt from among you.[736] For me you are people of strength, not of affliction. Indeed I have chosen you for myself. By God, I came here only when there was no city on earth in which God is worshiped where the oath of allegiance to me has not been taken."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh— his father—his father: When Riyāḥ sent me off,[737] news of that reached Muḥammad, so he made his uprising that night. Now Riyāḥ had already instructed the soldiers who were with me that if a man should appear from the direction of Medina, they should behead me. When Riyāḥ was brought to Muḥammad, he said, "Where is Mūsā?" "There is no way to him," answered Riyāḥ "By God, I have already sent him down to Iraq." Muḥammad said, "Send someone after him and have him brought back." Riyāḥ replied, "I have alread arranged with the army who are with him that, if they see anyone approach from Medina, they should kill Mūsā." Muḥammad asked his associates, "Who will help me in the matter of Mūsā?" and Ibn Khuḍayr said that he would do so. Muḥammad said, "Then go look for some men." Ibn Khuḍayr selected some and then set off. [198]

By God, all of a sudden Ibn Khuḍayr[738] was in front of us as if he had approached from Iraq. Catching sight of him, the soldiers

733. Those who emigrated with the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in 1/622. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

734. A name meaning "helpers" that was applied to the people of Medina who assisted and supported the Prophet Muḥammad and his followers. *EI*[2], s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

735. This part of Muḥammad's address is repeated on p. 192.

736. *Min bayna aẓhurikum*; see note 684.

737. This continues the account of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, a brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, from p. 130.

738. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as a descendant of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. See note 958.

said, "It's the Commander of the Faithful's messengers." When Ibn Khuḍayr and his men were among us, they drew swords, and the commander and his associates took me, and he had me kneel down, released me from my bonds, and made me keep going until he brought me before Muḥammad.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd:[739] Abū Jaʿfar would write to Muḥammad as though from his army commanders, who would [seem to] summon Muḥammad to appear and would inform him that they were on his side.[740] Muḥammad used to say, "Were we to meet, all of the army commanders would side with me."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Muḥammad took Medina, he made ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr[741] its governor, charged ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Makhzūmī with its judiciary, Abū al-Qalammas ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[742] with its police forces, and ʿAbdallāh b.
[199] Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrimah[743] with its office of payment of stipends.[744] He sent word to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, saying, "I [confidently] assume that you will help us and stand together with us." Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz made excuses to him but said he would do so. Then he slipped away from Muḥammad and went to Mecca.

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd—Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā Abū Sufyān al-Ḥimyarī[745]—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar: I was head of

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739. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd b. ʿUbayd al-Jawharī (d. 230/845) was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* and jewel merchant. *GAS* I, 105, VII, 51; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 360–66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 256–58; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 269.

740. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 531.

741. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid was a member of the prominent Qurashī family whose forefather, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, fought against ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of the Camel. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 201–2; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 296.

742. Abū al-Qalammas ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh was a descendant of the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

743. Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī was a Qurashī *muḥaddith* who died in 170/786. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 150–51, where the name is vocalized as Makhramah; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312 = *Opkomst*, 285.

744. *Dīwān al-ʿaṭāʾ*. *EI*², s.v. ʿAṭāʾ (C. Cahen).

745. Abū Sufyān Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥadhdhāʾ al-Wāsiṭī (the cobbler from Wāsiṭ) was a *muḥaddith* deemed trustworthy by al-Sijistānī. He died in 202/818. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 87–8.

the police forces for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh until he sent me off on an assignment and put al-Zubayrī[746] in charge of his police.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ: None of the leading citizens stayed away from Muḥammad except a small group that included al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Ḥizām, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Ḥizām, Abū Salamah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[747] and Khubayb b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[748]

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—his grandmother, Kulthum bt. Wahb: When Muḥammad made his uprising, the people of Medina turned aside. Among those who joined the revolt was my husband, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr,[749] who went to al-Baqīʿ.[750] I hid myself with Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās.[751] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wrote to me in verses that he had composed, and I wrote to him:

May God have mercy on youths
who fought on the day of al-Thaniyyah[752]
They fought for him, [even] young girls
and esteemed people of pure lineage
But [eventually] the people ran away and left him one and all,
all but some lionhearted cavalry.

Continued Kulthum bt. Wahb, "It became popular to add:" [200]

May the all-merciful God kill ʿĪsā,
the killer of the Pure Soul.

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746. I.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr.

747. Brother of Abū al-Qalammas above and thus also a descendant of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

748. Khubayb b. Thābit was a grandson of anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who opposed Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and was killed by Syrian troops in 73/692. For Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 19, II, 546.

749. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā was a great-grandson of the the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

750. Baqīʿ al-Gharqad was the first Muslim cemetery in Medina and the burial place of many of the Prophet's family. *EI*[2], s.v. Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad (A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Bazmee Ansari); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 473–74.

751. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

752. I.e., Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ. See note 691.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam b. Sinān al-Ḥakamī, the brother of al-Anṣār—others: Mālik b. Anas was asked for a legal opinion about joining Muḥammad's uprising. People said to him, "We are obligated by an oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar." Mālik responded, "You gave the oath of allegiance only under compulsion. A sworn contract is not incumbent upon anyone who has been coerced." At this, the people hurried off to join Muḥammad, but Mālik stayed at home.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Ibn Abī Mulaykah,[753] the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: Muḥammad sent for Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[754] (who was a man of advanced years), summoning him at the time he made his uprising to give his oath of allegiance. Ismāʿīl said, "O son of my brother, by God you are as good as dead, so how can I give you the oath of allegiance!" Therefore, the people held back from him for a little while. The sons of Muʿāwiyah,[755] however, had already hurried to Muḥammad's side. Ḥammādah, the daughter of Muʿāwiyah, came to Ismāʿīl and said, "O Uncle, my brothers have already hastened to their cousin's cause. If you keep saying this, you will hold people back from him, and my cousin and my brothers will be killed." The old man refused to do anything but proscribe Muḥammad. It is said that Ḥammādah rushed at Ismāʿīl and killed him. Muḥammad was about to say the ritual prayer for Ismāʿīl, but ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl[756] jumped at him, saying, "You order my father's killing and then you pray for him!" The guards pushed him aside, and Muḥammad prayed for Ismāʿīl.

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753. Ibn Abī Mulaykah, a descendant of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh (d. 117/735), known as Abū Muḥammad or Abū Bakr al-Taymī, was the muezzin of the sacred mosque at Mecca and the judge of Mecca for al-Zubayr. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 304; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 88–90.

754. In an earlier ʿAlid episode, his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, tried to persuade his cousin Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī not to oppose Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's assumption of the caliphate. *EI*² s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Dja'far (K.V. Zettersteen).

755. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was the son of the last of the Banū Hāshim to see the Prophet. He was an uncle of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and the names of his sons, Muḥammad's cousins, are given as Ḥasan, Yazīd, and Ṣāliḥ. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 107–9; Nagel, "Bericht", 257; Ṭabarī, III, 202, 204.

756. ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Muḥammad was brought ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.[757] [201] The latter held his eyes squeezed shut and said, "I am under oath, if I see him, to kill him." ʿĪsā b. Zayd[758] said, "Let me behead him," but Muḥammad prevented him from doing so.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿn[759]—Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī:[760] I was in the prison of Ibn Ḥayyān[761] when Muḥammad made his public appearance, and he released me. When I heard the summons to his cause that he made from the *minbar*, I said to myself, "This is the call of one entitled to make it. By God, in [responding to] it I will acquit myself well before God."[762] I said to Muḥammad, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have now made your uprising in this area. If Abū Jaʿfar occupies any of its passages,[763] its people will die of hunger and thirst. Rise up with me. Within but ten days I could strike him with 100,000 swords." But Muḥammad refused me. One day when I was with him, he said to me, "We have never found such fine personal goods as something we found in the possession of Ibn Abī Farwah,[764] the son-in-law of Abū al-Khaṣīb." (Muḥammad

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757. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was called al-Aʿraj ("the Lame"). His grandfather was known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and his great-great-grandfather was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He himself betrayed Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī to Abū Muslim, prompting the former's execution. *EI*², s.v. ʿAlids (B. Lewis), especially the genealogical chart; Ṭabarī, III, 61.

758. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, whose patronymic was Abū Yaḥyā. His father, Zayd b. ʿAlī, was the eponym of the Shīʿī sect of the Zaydiyyah. ʿĪsā b. Zayd and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā were the two figures of whom al-Manṣūr, shortly before his death, warned his son al-Mahdī. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 405–28; *EI*¹, s.v. Zaid b. ʿAlī (R. Strothmann); Ṭabarī, III, 448, 507.

759. Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Naḍlah b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī was a *muḥaddith* of Medina, said to have died at about the time that Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah did, i.e., 196/811. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 412–13.

760. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī was the former governor of Medina. See note 361, above, under the year 141, and the account of his dismissal under year 144.

761. I.e., Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī.

762. *La-ubliynna allāhu fīhā balāʾan ḥasanan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *balā*. *Balāʾ*, in the sense of acquitting oneself well on the battlefield, was also grounds for a larger allotment from the army stipendiary system.

763. *Law waqafa ʿalā naqbin min anqābihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naqaba* and *waqafa*.

764. Perhaps the son of the man with whom Muḥammad's brother, Ibrāhīm, stayed in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 287.

had seized him.) I said to myself, "Don't I see you eyeing those fine goods with intent to steal?"[765] Then I wrote to the Commander to the Faithful and informed him of how few still sided with Muḥammad. Although Muḥammad was well disposed toward me, he imprisoned me until such time as ʿĪsā b. Mūsā released me after killing Muḥammad.[766]

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—his sister, Buraykah bt. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd—her father: One day while I was with Muḥammad, his foot in my lap, Khawwāt b. Bukayr b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr came to see him. He greeted Muḥammad, but Muḥammad returned the greeting perfunctorily. Then a young Qurashī lad came in and greeted him. To this young man Muḥammad returned a courteous greeting. I said [to Muḥammad], "You are still not putting your partisanship aside." "How's that?" he said. "The Anṣārī leader came to see you and
[202] gave his greetings, but you responded to them half-heartedly. Then some Qurashī vagabond comes and makes his salutations, and you were ceremonious in reciprocating them." He said, "I did no such thing, although you've examined me more closely than anyone should do to another."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim: Muḥammad appointed al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[767] as governor of Mecca. With him he dispatched al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq,[768] whom he named governor of the Yemen.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his family: Muḥammad appointed al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq governor of the Yemen and set Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh over Syria, so that the two of them could proselytize for him. He was killed, however, before they arrived [at their respective posts].

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765. *Allā arāka qad abṣarta ḥurra al-matāʿ*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṣura*.

766. See pp. 108–12 for the circumstances of Khālid al-Qasrī's imprisonment.

767. Al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah supported his brother ʿAbdallāh's revolt in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and was charged with Jibāl by him. He was eventually imprisoned by al-Manṣūr and remained there until the caliph's death. Although al-Mahdī released him, al-Ḥasan died shortly thereafter. Ṭabarī, III, 1881, 1977; Nagel, *Entstehung*, 147–50; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 300–9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 274–75.

768. Al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq was a descendant of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭalib and a cousin of al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 301; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 201.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: At the time of his uprising Muḥammad appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Darāwardī[769] as head of the aresenal.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah and others: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Ibn Harmah[770] said that a certain one of them—and he alone—has recited these verses to Abū Jaʿfar:

You have wrested the caliphate from one who desired it.
The misleader, the lost one raised his hopes.[771]
He has destroyed himself in foolishness and cowardice.
Of it not the smallest bit was alloted to him.
Greedy men assisted him, but they were
the scum on the flood that floods collect.
They called upon Iblīs when they lamented and lowed,[772]
but the tempter, the forsaken one, did not come to their rescue.
They were the people obedient to him, but he turned his back.
And a group of them [still] came behind him.
Truly, they did not fall short in this,
in following on the heels of the misguider, but they did not go far.
It was not the people who gave you the caliphate but [203]
the King, the Exalted One gave you that.
The legacy of Muḥammad is yours, and you are
the roots of legitimacy when the roots are torn up.

According to ʿUmar—Maḥmūd b. Maʿmar b. Abī al-Shadāʾid al-Fazārī[773] and Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān al-Kilābī:[774] When

769. Known as Abū Muḥammad al-Juhanī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd (d. 187/803) was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and a *mawlā* of the Juhaynah tribe. His *laqab*, al-Darāwardī, is ascribed to a Khurāsānī town of that name or to his habit of using the Persian *andarūn* as a word of invitation. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 538; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 315–16; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 366–68.

770. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Salamah al-Fihrī (d. 176/792) was a Medinese poet who composed panegyrics for the Umayyad caliph Walīd b. Yazīd and for ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan but who also gained the support of Abū Jaʿfar. *EI*[2] s.v. (C. Pellat); *GAS*, II, 444–45; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 59–60; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, I, 50.

771. I.e., Iblīs/Satan.

772. *Daʿū Iblīsa idh karibū wa-jārā (jaʾarū)*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

773. Grandson of the poet quoted below.

774. Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Samʿān al-Kilābī.

Muḥammad made his uprising and ʿĪsā proceeded against him, Abū al-Shadāʾid[775] said:

Fine mounts and blood mares have brought you
 ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, so be in no hurry.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Muḥammad was very swarthy—his complexion almost black—and corpulent. He was nicknamed "Tar Face" because of his dark complexion, and, in fact, Abū Jaʿfar used to call him "Charcoal Face" (*al-muḥammam*).

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād b. ʿAnbasah: I never saw Muḥammad ascend the *minbar*, while I was in my usual place [nearby], without hearing rumbling beneath him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb—one who was present when Muḥammad was preaching on the *minbar*: Phlegm in his throat got in his way, so he cleared his throat and it went away. Then the phlegm returned, so he cleared his throat and again it went away. Then it came back, so he cleared his throat once more. Again this happened. At this point he looked about without seeing any place in which to spit,[776] so he expectorated toward the ceiling of the mosque and made it stick there.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ[777]—Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī, who was of the family of Abū Rāfiʿ: Muḥammad was a stutterer. I saw him on the *minbar*, stammering words [that were] in his breast. Then he would strike his chest with his hand to make the speech come forth.[778]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: One day ʿĪsā b. Mūsā en-
[204] tered Abū Jaʿfar's presence and said, "May God gladden you, Commander of the Faithful." "Why?" replied the caliph. "I have bought the frontage of the Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[779] from

775. Abū al-Shadāʾid al-Fazārī was a satirical poet in Medina who died in 145/762. *GAS*, II, 647.

776. *Mawḍiʿan yabṣuqu fīhi*, following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 553.

777. ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (d. 216/831) was known as ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ the Younger to distinguish him from the *faqīh* ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ṣāʾigh ("the Goldsmith") al-Makhzūmī, who died in 206/821. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 648–49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 46–48.

778. Veccia Vaglieri "Divagazioni," 339, counts this speech defect among the reasons why Muḥammad was unable to attract broad public enthusiasm.

779. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 112, further identifies this as Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

Muʿāwiyah's sons, Ḥasan, Yazīd and Ṣāliḥ."[780] He said, "And you are happy! Indeed, by God, they only sold it so they could take advantage of you with its price."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān: Muḥammad made his uprising in Medina after al-Manṣūr had traced the outlines of his city, Baghdad, with a reed. The caliph then went to al-Kūfah, and I accompanied him. He yelled at me to catch up with him but then was silent for a long time. Eventually he said, "Ibn al-Rabīʿ, Muḥammad has come forth in open revolt." "Where?" I asked. "In Medina," he answered. "By God, he is destroyed," I exclaimed, "and will ruin [others]. He has revolted without sufficient forces and without [the support of] leading men. O Commander of the Faithful, come, I will tell you what Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Jaʿdah al-Makhzūmī[781] told me. Saʿīd said, 'On the day of [the battle of] the Zāb,[782] I was standing with Marwān when he said, "O Saʿīd, who is that fellow leading the cavalry charge against me?" "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās,"[783] I answered. He said, "Which of them is he? Point him out to me." "All right," I said, "he is a man of sallow complexion, with a handsome face and slender forearms, a man who entered your presence and heaped abuse upon ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah[784] when he was put to flight."[785] Marwān said, "Indeed, I recognize him now. By God, I wish that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib could fight me in his stead. ʿAlī and his descendants have no part in this affair. But this

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780. See note 755.

781. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, gives b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī.

782. Al-Zāb al-Akbar, a tributary of the Tigris, was the site of the decisive battle against Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph. EI^1, s.v. (E. Honigmann); Ṭabarī, III, 38–42.

783. Abū Jaʿfar's uncle. For the account of his attempt to secure the oath of allegiance for himself, see under the year 137. His ʿAbbāsid prepotence is apparently here being favorably contrasted with the ʿAlid's.

784. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and, although unable to maintain power there, held areas of western Persia until 129/746–47. After retreating to Khurāsān, he was executed by Abū Muslim. The sect associated with him was known as al-Janāḥiyyah. EI^2 s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen) and s.v. al-Djanāḥiyya (M. G. S. Hodgson and M. Canard); Ṭabarī, II, 1879–87, 1976–80; Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, I, 150–52; Laoust, *Schismes*, 35–36.

785. For an account of this incident see Ṭabarī, II, 1980–81.

is a man from the Banū Hāshim, descended from the Messenger of God's uncle and from Ibn ʿAbbās. He carries the whiff of Syria and the backing of Syria. O Ibn Jaʿdah, do you know what prompted me to settle the succession upon ʿAbdallāh and
[205] ʿUbaydallāh,[786] the two sons of Marwān, to the neglect of ʿAbd al-Malik[787] although he is older than ʿUbaydallāh?" I said, "No." He said, "I found the one most capable of handling this affair to be ʿAbdallāh, and ʿUbaydallāh is more like ʿAbdallāh than ʿAbd al-Malik. Therefore I settled the succession on ʿAbdallāh [first]." Abū Jaʿfar then said, "I adjure you by God, did Ibn Jaʿdah really tell you this?" "May the daughter of Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah[788] be irrevocably divorced [from me]," I replied, "if he did not tell me what I have told you."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq:[789] During the night on which Muḥammad made his uprising, a man from the family of Uways b. Abī Sarḥ of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy[790] went to Abū Jaʿfar. He made the journey from Medina in nine days, arriving at night.[791] He stood at the gates of the city and shouted until his presence was announced and he was admitted. Al-Rabīʿ said to him, "What do you want at this hour, when the Commander of the Faithful is sleeping?" "I must

786. ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad and ʿUbaydallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad were sons of the last Umayyad caliph. The circumstances in which he had the *bayʿah* given to them as his successors are described in Ṭabarī, II, 1895. ʿAbdallāh successfully checked the Khārijī rebellion led by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī until his father arrived with sufficient forces to fight a conclusive battle. Although he escaped the pursuit of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Jaʿfar's uncle, he was eventually captured and remained in prison until his death during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ṭabarī, II, 1938–40; *EI*² s.v. Marwān II (G. R. Hawting); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 137.

787. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned with his father in the latter's ostensible avengement of Walīd b. Yazīd's murder. Ṭabarī, II, 1870–71, 1876.

788. See note 262.

789. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533.

790. The ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy were a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, II, 160; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 166–67. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533, gives the man's name as al-Ḥusayn b. Sakhr with a variant of "b. Saḥr."

791. D. H. Hill, "Camel and Horse," 34, estimates that a courier could cover about 100 miles in a day and about 400 miles in a week. As the distance from Medina to al-Kūfah is roughly double the latter figure, the courier obviously made very good time.

see him," the man replied. Al-Rabīʿ said, "Give your information to us, and we will inform him." The man refused, however, so al-Rabīʿ entered the caliph's presence and apprised him of the situation. Abū Jaʿfar said, "Ask him what he wants and then tell me." To this al-Rabīʿ replied, "The man has insisted on speaking to you directly." The caliph thus gave permission for the man to enter his presence, whereupon he announced, "Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has come out in open revolt in Medina." Abū Jaʿfar replied, "You have killed him, by God, if you are speaking the truth. Tell me who has taken his side." The man gave him the names of those of the leading citizens of Medina and of the people of Muḥammad's family who had revolted with him. Abū Jaʿfar then asked, "Have you seen him and looked at him with your own eyes?" "I have seen him," the man replied, "and I have looked at him with my own eyes and spoken to him while he was sitting on the Messenger of God's *minbar*." Abū Jaʿfar had him taken to a room. In the morning a messenger of Saʿīd b. Dīnār, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's slave who was in charge of ʿĪsā's properties in Medina, came to Abū Jaʿfar. He told him about the Muḥammad affair, and [other] reports of it came to the caliph in constant succession. Abū Jaʿfar sent the Uwaysī away, saying, "I will have men following right behind you and I will enrich you." The caliph or- [206]
dered for him the sum of 9,000 dirhams,[792] 1,000 for each night he traveled.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Abī Ḥarb: When news of Muḥammad's uprising reached Abū Jaʿfar, he was apprehensive about it, and al-Ḥārith, the astrologer,[793] began to say to him, "Commander of the Faithful, why are you concerned about him? By God, were he to rule the earth, he would last for ninety days."

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl b. Ismāʿīl[794]—his father: When the report of Muḥammad's uprising reached Abū Jaʿfar, he left immediately for al-Kūfah, saying, "I am Abū Jaʿfar, I have lured the fox from his lair."

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792. Specification is supplied in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533.

793. Perhaps a forefather of al-Ḥārith al-Munajjim, a Baghdādī astrologist who served the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 995; *GAS*, VI, 146. For the accuracy of this prediction, see Ṭabarī, III, 316.

794. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sulaymān—Ḥabīb b. Marzūq[795]—Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī:[796] When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the two sons of ʿAbdallāh, made their uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who was in his custody, saying, "This man has now come out in revolt. If you have a thought on the matter, let us know." Now ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī did have an opinion about them, but he replied, "A restricted man has restricted judgment; let me out so that my opinion can emerge freely." Abū Jaʿfar, however, sent word to him, "Were Muḥammad to come knocking at my door, I would still not let you out. I am kinder to you than he, even though he were the head of your family." At this ʿAbdallāh sent word back to Abū Jaʿfar, "Leave immediately for al-Kūfah and press them hard, for they are partisans (*shīʿah*) of the family of this [Muḥammad's] house and their helpers. Surround al-Kūfah with strongpoints and behead whoever leaves it in any direction or comes to it from any direction. Additionally, send for Salm b. Qutaybah[797] (who was in al-Rayy) to
[207] come down to you. Write to the people of Syria and order them to convey to you as many men of strength and courage as the postal service [i.e., relay horses] can carry. Reward these people well and dispatch them together with Salm." The caliph did what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī suggested.

According to ʿUmar—al-ʿAbbās b. Sufyān b. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād:[798] I heard our old men say that Muḥammad made his uprising during the period when ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was in detention. Abū Jaʿfar said to his brothers, "This fool still has some excellent ideas about warfare. Go see him and seek his advice, but don't tell him that I commanded you to do so." So the brothers went off to visit

795. Ḥabīb b. Abī Ḥabīb Marzūq (d. 218/833) was a secretary for Mālik b. Anas and transmitter of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 292.

796. In the last year of Abū Jaʿfar's reign, Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī appears as the administrator in Oman who sent certain Indian prisoners to the caliph. His son Ḥasan was governor there in 169/785. Ṭabarī, III, 385, 568; Crone, *Slaves*, 121.

797. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī (d. 149/766), whose patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh, served as governor of al-Baṣrah for Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah at the conclusion of the Umayyad period and again under al-Manṣūr. His father was governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ṭabarī, II, 1180–82; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 299–300; Crone, *Slaves*, 136–37; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, III, 111; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 429–30; Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 231.

798. There is some variation in Ibn al-Athīr's account.

ʿAbdallāh, and when he saw them, ʿAbdallāh asked, "Why have you come? What brings all of you now when you've stayed away from me for such a long time?" They replied, "We asked permission of the Commander of the Faithful, and he gave it to us." ʿAbdallāh said, "This signifies nothing. What's going on?" "ʿAbdallāh [b. Ḥasan's] son has come out in open revolt," they said. ʿAbdallāh asked, "What do you think Ibn Sallāmah[799] [meaning Abū Jaʿfar] is going to do?" They replied, "By God, we don't know." At this ʿAbdallāh exclaimed, "Indeed stinginess has already killed him.[800] Order him to get out money and pay the troops. If he is victorious, his money will soon come back to him. But if he's vanquished, his opponent will not get his hands on a single dirham."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān[801]—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Mismaʿ b. ʿAbd al-Malik: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Abū Jaʿfar summoned ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and said to him, "Muḥammad has risen in revolt; head out against him." ʿĪsā responded, "Commander of the Faithful, these uncles of yours are all around you. Call for them and take counsel with them." The caliph replied, "What about the words of Ibn Harmah?"

You are looking at a man who does not show people his secret,
and does not whisper in their ears about what he is trying to do.
When he comes to something [daunting], he walks past with an air of scorn.
And if he says that he will do something, then he does so.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā: I transcribed these letters from Muḥammad b. Bashīr, who testified to their authenticity. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[802] an Iraqi scribe, and al-Ḥakam b. [208]
Ṣadaqah b. Nizār related them to me. I also heard Ibn Abī Ḥarb declare them authentic. He had a version that when Muḥam-

799. The name of al-Manṣūr's mother, a Berber slave woman, was Sallāmah. *EI*², s.v. al-Manṣūr (H. Kennedy); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 114.

800. His stinginess is said to have earned Abū Jaʿfar the nickname Abū Dawānīq, the *dāniq* (pl. *dawāniq* or *dawānīq*) being a small coin of little value. Ṭabarī includes a number of stories about the caliph's parsimonious nature in the accounts with which he concludes his section on al-Manṣūr's reign.

801. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mismaʿ.

802. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Humānī.

mad's letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, Abū Ayyūb had said, "Let me respond to him on this." Abū Jaʿfar refused sharply, saying "I will answer him. Since our quarrel is about the comparative nobility of our lineages, leave him to me."[803]

When news of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising in Medina reached Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the caliph wrote to Muḥammad:[804]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: From the servant of God, ʿAbdallāh, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh: "The recompense for those who war against God and His Messenger and on the earth strive for iniquity is that they will be slaughtered or crucified or their hands and feet on alternate sides shall be severed or they shall be exiled from the land.[805] That is their disgrace in the world, while in the Hereafter theirs will be a severe punishment, except for those who repent before you overpower them. Know that God is forgiving, merciful."[806] I am obligated to you by God's compact and His covenant, His promise of protection and that of His Messenger, so that if you repent and turn back before I overpower you, I will grant immunity to you, to all your sons, your brothers, and your family and whoever follows you, for your lives and for your worldly goods. I will also overlook the blood you have shed and the goods you have obtained. Further, I will give you 1,000,000 dirhams and anything else you request. I will let you settle anywhere in the country that you wish
> [209] and will release those of your family who are in my custody. I will grant immunity to all who came to your side, gave you the oath of allegiance, followed you, or had anything to do with your affair. Moreover, I will never pursue

803. See also Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 115.

804. See also Azdī, *Taʾrīkh* al-*Mawṣil*, 182–87; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 536–42; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 84–86; Two modern biographies of al-Manṣūr provide paraphrases of these letters: Jūmard, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr*, 186 (extracts); Rustum, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr*, 56–60.

805. This Qurʾānic citation is repeated in one version of al-Manṣūr's testament to his son al-Mahdī. Ṭabarī, III, 447; A. Dietrich, "Politische Testament."

806. Qurʾān 5:33–34. For the ʿAbbāsid use of Qurʾānic citation, see Zaman, "Considerations."

a single one of them for anything he has done. If you wish to make a completely secure agreement for yourself, then send to me whomever you wish to receive on your behalf such guarantee of safe-conduct, contract, and covenant as you would trust.

At the heading he had written "From the servant of God, ʿAbdallāh, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh."

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote to Abū Jaʿfar:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: From the servant of God, the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, to ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad: "Ṭā', Sīn, Mīm. These are the verses of the book that makes clear. We recite to you from the story of Moses and Pharaoh with truth for a people who believe. Pharaoh was exalted in the land and made of its people factions, oppressing a group of them by slaughtering their sons but sparing their women. Truly he was one of those who commits iniquity. We wanted to act graciously toward those who on the earth were oppressed, to make them leaders and to make them inheritors. And to make them strong in the earth and to show Pharaoh and Hāmān and their armies that against which they were on guard."[807] To you I extend a grant of immunity like the one that you extended to me, because the right to do so belongs to us. You have laid claim to this office only through us. You made your uprising to acquire it through our support and attained it only thanks to us. Our paternal ancestor, ʿAlī, was the *waṣī* and the *imām*, so how could you have inherited his *wilāyah* when his own descendants are still alive.[808] Further you well know that no one has laid claim to this office who has a [210]
> lineage, nobility, and status like ours. By the nobility of our fathers, we are not the sons of the accursed, the out-

807. Qur'ān 28:1–6. Reference to Pharaoh as a secular tyrant was a standard feature of anti-Umayyad polemic.

808. In classical Shīʿī thought the religio-political authority (*wilāyah*) of the leader or guide (*imām*) of the community is secured through designation of one who stands in hereditary succession from the original agent (*waṣī*).

casts, and the freedmen![809] No one from the Banū Hāshim has the sort of bonds we can draw upon through kinship, precedence, and superiority. We are the descendants of the [fore]mother of God's Messenger, Fāṭimah bt. ʿAmr,[810] in the Jāhiliyyah[811] and descendants of his daughter Fāṭimah in Islām. You can make no such claim! Truly God has elected us and has chosen in our favor. Our forefather[812] is one of the prophets, Muḥammad.[813] One of our ancestors, ʿAlī, was the first to become a Muslim. Of the spouses among us is the most virtuous, Khadījah the Chaste, the first to pray facing the *qiblah*. The best of daughters is Fāṭimah, mistress of the women who dwell in the Garden. Among those born into Islam are Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, lords of the young men who dwell in the Garden. Hāshim[814] is the forefather of ʿAlī twice over,[815] as is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[816] of Ḥasan. Twice is God's Messenger my forefather, through Ḥasan and through Ḥusayn. I am at the very center of the Banū Hāshim's kinship lines. My paternity is purest among them, undiluted with non-Arab blood, and no concubines dispute for me [in precedence].[817] In both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam, God has never stopped electing for me fathers and mothers, even

809. For a consideration of these epithets, *luʿanāʾ*, *ṭuradāʾ*, and *ṭulaqāʾ*, see Traini, "La Corrispondenza," 778 n. 28.

810. Fāṭimah bt. ʿAmr was the Prophet's grandmother as wife of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

811. The pre-Islamic period.

812. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXVII, for references to early sources with *waladanā*.

813. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 537, adds "and the most excellent of them."

814. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf was the great-grandfather of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, while his mother was Fāṭimah bt. Asad b. Hāshim. *EI*[2] s.v. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf (W. Montgomery Watt); *EI*[1], s.v. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (C. Huart).

815. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, editor of the Cairo edition, VII, 567, evidently understands this to mean that Hāshim was the progenitor of two ʿAlīs whom he identifies as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

816. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the grandfather of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's father and the great-grandfather of his mother Fāṭimah.

817. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 568 n. 1, notes that this is an allusion to Abū Jaʿfar's mother, Sallāmah, who was a Berber concubine. In replying to this charge, the caliph's response records it as *lam talidka al-ʿajamu wa-lam tuʿarriq fīka ummahātu al-awlād*. Ṭabarī, III, 112.

choosing for me in the Fire.[818] I am descended from the person of highest rank in the Garden and the one with the lightest punishment[819] in the Fire.[820] I am descended from the best of the good and the best of the bad, the best of the people of the Garden and the best of the people of the Fire. I am obligated[821] to you by God, so that if you become obedient to me and respond to my call, I will grant immunity for your life and your possessions and for [211]
everything that you have done except in contravention of one of God's mandated punishments[822] or a legitimate claim by a Muslim or by someone who has executed a valid contract. You know well what your obligations are. I am more entitled to the office than you are, as well as more faithful to a covenant. You, however, have given me the kind of covenant and grant of immunity that you have given to other men before me. But what kind of assurances are these you give me? The grant of immunity given to Ibn Hubayrah,[823] or that given to your uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, or that given to Abū Muslim![824]

Abū Jaʿfar wrote to him:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: Your statement has now reached me, and I have read your letter. My, how you pride yourself on kinship through

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818. *Fī al-nār*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 537, reads *fī al-ashrār*, i.e., "among the wicked."

819. *Wa-[ibn] ahwanihim ʿadhāban*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

820. This could be Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's grandfather, or his father ʿAbdallāh. Abū Jaʿfar's response, however, explicitly mentions the latter.

821. See Abū Jaʿfar's parallel pledge on pp. 166–67.

822. *Ḥaddan min ḥudūdi allāh*. Qurʾānic reference to these "limits" may be found at 2:187, 229, 230; 4:13, 14; 9:97, 112; 58:4; 65:1.

823. Abū Khālid Yazīd b. ʿUmar (see note 321) was governor of Iraq for the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, and eponym of the settlement on the Euphrates, Qaṣr b. Hubayrah. The episode of the *amān* that was granted to him by al-Saffāḥ through the agency of Abū Jaʿfar but then nullified, as detailed in Ṭabarī, III, 66–71. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 207–8; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 185; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; *EI*² s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra (J. Lassner); Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 59–90.

824. The account of Abū Jaʿfar's treacherous dealings with Abū Muslim is given in year 137. See also Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 65.

women, as to delude the uncouth and the rabble! But God did not make women equal [in such matters] to uncles and fathers or [even] to paternal relations and guardians.[825] God gave the uncle status equal to a father,[826] giving him [legal] precedence in His book over the less significant mother. Had God chosen these women according to their degree of kinship, Āminah[827] would be the closest womb relation, the greatest claim, and, one day, would have been the first to enter the Garden. God's choice of his creatures, however, is based on His knowing what will proceed from them and on His selecting the best of them. As for what you have to say about Abū Tālib's mother, Fāṭimah,[828] and her maternity, the fact is that God did not bless with Islam any of her offspring, not a single daughter or son. Had anyone been blessed with Islam through kinship, it would have been ʿAbdallāh,[829] who most deserves every good in this world and the Hereafter. Yet God's way is to choose for His religion whomever He wills, as when He said, "You do not guide whom you like, rather God guides whom He
[212] wills. He best knows those who are rightly guided."[830] God, in fact, sent Muḥammad, who had four uncles,[831] sending down on him the revelation, "Admonish your nearest relatives."[832] Muḥammad admonished them and summoned them [to Islam]. Two of them responded,[833] one of whom was my forefather. Two of them re-

825. On this argument, see Sourdel, "Appels et programmes," 121.

826. *Liʾanna allāha jaʿala al-ʿamma aban.* Further to this central argument for ʿAbbāsid hegemony, see Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 43.

827. Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf was the mother of Muḥammad. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

828. See note 810.

829. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Prophet. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

830. Qurʾān 28:56.

831. Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamzah, and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzah (Abū Lahab). *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad (F. Buhl and A. T. Welch).

832. Qurʾān 26:214.

833. Ḥamzah and al-ʿAbbās. Their respective conversions are related in Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 131–32, 546 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah* 184–85, 811.

fused,[834] one of whom was your forefather. So God severed Muḥammad's line of [spiritual] inheritance (*wilāyah*) from these two, placing between them and Muḥammad neither pact nor protection nor inheritance. You claim that you are the descendant of the persons with the lightest punishment in the Fire, descendant of the best of the bad. But in ingratitude to God there is no [such thing as a] small degree, nor is there lightness or triviality in God's punishment. There is no élite in evil. It is not fitting for a believer who believes in God to take pride in the Fire. But you shall go, and you shall find out: "Those who do evil shall come to know by what kind of reversal they will be overturned."[835] As to your boast about Fāṭimah, the [grand]mother of ʿAlī, and that Hāshim is his paternal ancestor on two counts and that Fāṭimah is the mother of Ḥasan, and that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is his paternal ancestor twice over, and further, that the Prophet is your paternal ancestor on two counts: The fact is that God's Messenger is the best of those of the beginning and the end, and to him Hāshim has only one lineage connection, as does ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. You claim to be at the very center of Banū Hāshim lineage, their purest both maternally and paternally, unbegotten by foreigners, your bloodlines undiluted by concubines. Apparently, you hold yourself superior to the Banū Hāshim, one and all. But look—woe upon you—where you will be with God tomorrow! Truly, you have gone beyond all bounds. You even hold yourself superior to one who was better than you in his essence (*nafs*) and his lineage, in the beginning and in the end, i.e., Ibrāhīm,[836] son of the Messenger of God, and [see yourself] superior, therefore, to the father who begot him! In particular, the best of your forefather's sons and the most excellent people among them are nothing but con-

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834. Abū Ṭālib and Abū Lahab. The former became Muḥammad's guardian after the death of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and supported him against Qurashī opposition. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 79, 118–27 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah* 114–15, 166–77.

835. Qur'ān 26:227.

836. Ibrāhīm was the Prophet's son by his Coptic wife Māriyah. *EI*², s.v. Māriya (F. Buhl).

cubines' sons. After the death of God's Messenger there
[213] was no one born among you who was more excellent than 'Alī b. Ḥusayn,[837] yet he was the son of a concubine. He was certainly better than your grandfather, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. After 'Alī there was no one among you to equal his son, Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[838] yet his grandmother was a concubine. He was certainly better than your father. Further, there is no one the equal of his son, Ja'far,[839] yet his grandmother was a concubine. He is certainly better than you. Whereas you say that you are the descendant of God's Messenger, God in His book says, "Muḥammad was not the father of anyone among your men."[840] You are the descendants of his daughter, which is a close kinship. But it does not legitimate inheritance,[841] nor does it bequeath the *wilāyah*, neither does it confer the *imāmah* on her. So how could it be inherited from her? Your forefather sought her [in marriage] by every means. Then although he brought her forth during the day, he treated her rudely in private and buried her at night.[842] The people, however, insisted that the two *shaykhs*[843] be given their preeminence. Further, the tradition, with no disagreement among Muslims, has come down that the grandfather, i.e., the mother's father, and the maternal uncle and aunt do not inherit.[844] You boast about 'Alī and his precedence,[845] yet when the Messenger of God was dying,

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837. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the fourth *imām*, whose mother is said to have been a daughter of Yazdigird, the last Sāsānid king. Her name is given us Sulāfah. Ṭabarī, III, 2331; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 267; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 386.

838. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 114/732), known as Muḥammad al-Bāqir, was the grandson of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and acknowledged as the fifth *imām* of the Ithnā 'asharī line. *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (F. Buhl).

839. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See note 600, above.

840. Qur'ān 33:40.

841. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 539: *lā yajūzu lahā al-mīrāth*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

842. *Wa-marraḍahā sirran*. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 590. Veccia Vaglieri, *EI*[2], s.v. Fāṭima, refers to traditions that mention 'Alī's harsh treatment of his wife, her nighttime burial, and Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's initial ignorance of her death.

843. I.e., Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

844. For Muslim laws of succession and the division of inheritances, (*farā'iḍ*), see Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 169–74.

845. I.e., his record of early commitment of Islam.

he commanded someone else to perform the ritual prayer. Subsequently, the people took one man after another [as caliph] without taking ʿAlī. He was among the six,[846] but all of them passed over him, as a way of keeping him from it [succession to the caliphate]. They did not judge that he had a claim to it. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[847] preferred ʿUthmān to ʿAlī. When ʿUthmān[848] was killed, ʿAlī was suspected of it. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr fought him, while Saʿd[849] refused to give him the oath of allegiance and even shut his door to him. Saʿd then gave the oath of allegiance to Muʿāwiyah[850] after his death. ʿAlī sought the caliphate in every way and fought for it. But his associates split off from him, and his partisans had misgivings about him [even] before the arbitration. Then ʿAlī decided upon two arbitrators[851] with whom he was satisfied, giving them his pledge and his covenant. But these two decided to depose him. Then there was Ḥasan,[852] who sold his claim to Muʿāwiyah for a few gaudy robes and some cash[853] and [214]
took himself off to the Ḥijāz. He submitted his faction to the hand of Muʿāwiyah, handing affairs over to those who were not worthy of them [i.e., the Umayyads] and taking money from those who had no right [legally or spiritu-

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846. The *shūrā*, or electoral body, was comprised of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

847. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was an early Qurashī convert and, as one of the six-member *shūrā*, instrumental in the appointment of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as the third caliph. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (M. T. Houtsma and W. Montgomery Watt); Ṭabarī, I, 2776–97.

848. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the third caliph. *EI*¹, s.v. (G. Levi Della Vida).

849. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was an early Meccan convert who later led the conquest of central Iraq and was the founder and first governor of al-Kūfah. When ʿAlī became caliph, Saʿd refused to acknowledge him and retired to his estate in al-ʿAqīq, a valley lying near Medina. *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen); Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 202–12; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 42.

850. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb, the first Umayyad caliph. *EI*², s.v. (M. Hinds).

851. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who negotiated for Muʿāwiyah and ʿAlī respectively in the aftermath of the battle of Ṣiffīn.

852. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 49/669) was the second Shīʿī *imām*. In 40/660 he renounced his claim to the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

853. *Bi-khiraqin wa-darāhima.*

ally] to it [in the first place].[854] If you have anything to do with it, you too will sell it and take its price. Further, your uncle Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī[855] rebelled against Ibn Marjānah.[856] But the people fought with Ibn Marjānah against Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī until they had killed him and brought his head to Ibn Marjānah. Then you rebelled against the Umayyads, but they massacred you, crucified you on palm trunks, burned you in fires, and expelled you from the lands, so that Yaḥyā b. Zayd[857] was slain in Khurāsān. The Umayyads killed your men and took the children and women captive, transporting them to Syria in uncushioned litters[858] like enslaved prisoners of war. Consequently, we went forth against them, seeking to avenge you and to attain your blood retaliation. We made you heirs to their territory and their homes. We even raised the reputation of your ancestor and gave him a place of preeminence. You, however, now make use of that against us as proof. You also suggest [falsely] that we made mention of your forefather and gave precedence to him only so that we could set him ahead of Ḥamzah, al-ʿAbbās,[859] and Jaʿfar.[860] But it is not as you suppose. In fact, these men left the earth unblemished, [their reputa-

854. *Min ghayra wulātihi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

855. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad and the third Shīʿī *imām*, whose challenge to the accession of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah as caliph concluded in the massacre at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/680. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

856. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān or b. Abīhi was the Umayyad governor of al-Kūfah charged with thwarting Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate. He himself was killed six years after the battle of Karbalāʾ by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in an engagement fought at al-Jāzir on 10 Muḥarram 67/686. *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zettersteén).

857. Yaḥyā b. Zayd was the grandson of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and an *imām* for the Zaydīs. He was killed in battle against a force sent by the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār. *EI*¹, s.v. (C. Van Arendonk).

858. *Bi-lā waṭāʾin fī al-maḥāmil*. See Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 570 n. 6.

859. Both were sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and thus among the paternal uncles of the Prophet. The former became the subject of a famous Persian romance. *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (G. M. Meredith-Owens).

860. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was a cousin of Muḥammad and an older brother of ʿAlī. He is especially remembered for his skillful intervention with the Najāshī during the early Muslim emigration to Abyssinia. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

tions] accepted, their virtue agreed upon. Your forefather, however, was afflicted with fighting and war; the Umayyads used to curse him as the unbelievers are cursed in the prescribed prayer. But we argued in support of him and reminded them of his excellence. We have rebuked them and charged them with injustice for the way they defamed him. You know quite well that in the Jāhiliyyah our claim to honor rested on the task of supplying water for the great mass of pilgrims[861] and holding custody of the [well of] Zamzam.[862] This responsibility devolved upon al-ʿAbbās from among his brothers. Your forefather contested it with us, but ʿUmar judged in our favor against him. We have continued to discharge this responsibility in both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam. When the people of Medina were suffering a drought, ʿUmar made entreaties to his Lord[863] and sought His favor only through our forefather, with the consequence that God revived the people and gave them abundant rain to drink. Your fore- [215]
father was on the spot, but ʿUmar made no entreaties through him. You know very well that not one of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's sons outlived the Prophet but al-ʿAbbās, who, from among the Prophet's uncles, was his heir.[864] More than one of the Banū Hāshim has sought this office, but only al-ʿAbbās's descendants attained it. The water-supplying belonged to him, as his inheritance from the Prophet, and the caliphate lies with his progeny. There remains no eminence and excellence in the Jāhiliyyah or in Islam, in this world or in the Hereafter, that al-ʿAbbās does not inherit and bequeath. As for your remarks about Badr, it should be said that [the era] of Islam having ar-

861. *Siqāyatu al-ḥajīji al-aʿẓami.* Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* V 541: *siqāyatu al-ḥājji al-aʿẓami.*

862. A well within the precincts of the Great Mosque of Mecca, which Muslim tradition attributes to the angel Gabriel's intervention on behalf of Hājar and her son Ismāʿīl. *EI*¹, s.v. (B. Carra de Vaux); Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca,* 8–9.

863. *Ṣalāt al-istisqā'* is the technical designation applied to supplication for rain in periods of great drought. T. Fahd, *EI*², s.v. Istiskā', mentions the occasion on which ʿUmar led the *istisqā'* prayer by holding the hand of al-ʿAbbās. See also the account in Ṭabarī, I, 2574–75.

864. Al-ʿAbbās lived until 32/652–53.

rived, al-ʿAbbās supplied Abū Ṭālib and his family with provisions and lavished money on them when disaster befell. Were it not for al-ʿAbbās's[865] being sent forth to Badr reluctantly, Ṭālib and ʿAqīl[866] would have died starving and licking the bowls of ʿUtbah and Shaybah.[867] He was one of those who give sustenance to others (*muṭʿimīn*).[868] He thus took from you shame and disgrace and gave you instead a sufficiency of support and provisions. Moreover, he even ransomed ʿAqīl on the day of Badr, so how can you hold yourself superior to us when we have sustained you in [the time of] unbelief and ransomed you from captivity? We have far outreached you with our forefathers' noble deeds. We, not you, are heirs to the Seal of the Prophets.[869] We sought to avenge you and secured what you were incapable of obtaining for yourselves. May the peace and compassion of God be upon you![870]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn al-Qasrī[871] decided to betray Muḥammad, so he said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, send Mūsā b.
[216] ʿAbdallāh together with Rizām, my *mawlā*, to Syria that they

865. References to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's alleged early, but concealed, conversion to Islam, and to his allegedly forced participation with the Qurashī contingent at Badr may be found in Ṭabarī, I, 1324, 1339, 1344. See also Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 320 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 475, where al-ʿAbbās leads the list of those Quraysh who assisted the combatants at Badr.

866. Ṭālib and ʿAqīl were the Prophet's cousins, sons of the latter's uncle and protector Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. According to Ṭabarī, Ṭālib returned to Mecca before the engagement at Badr, while ʿAqīl and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith were the two nephews ransomed by al-ʿAbbās. Ṭabarī, I, 1308, 1344–45; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 338 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 513; *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

867. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah and Shaybah b. Rabīʿah of the clan of ʿAbd Shams were among the leading Meccans killed at Badr. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 337 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 507; Ṭabarī, I, 1332–34, 1338.

868. For a list of the Meccan *muṭʿimūn*, see Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 320–21.

869. For a discussion of the Qurʾānic basis of caliphal authority that draws largely upon the sources used in Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, see Qāḍī, "The Term 'Khalīfa.'"

870. Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 53 = *Opkomst*, 48, notes a perhaps apocryphal reply by Muḥammad to his letter, which is conserved in a Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ* by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥasanī.

871. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī. See pp. 107–12.

may summon people to your cause." Muḥammad sent the two of them, and Rizām left with Mūsā for Syria. Muḥammad found out, however, that al-Qasrī had written to Abū Jaʿfar about his affair, so he imprisoned him, along with a group who sided with him, in the Dār Ibn Hishām, which lay south of the oratory used for funeral processions, which today belongs to Faraj the Eunuch. In the meantime, Rizām brought Mūsā to Syria and then slipped away from him and went on to Abū Jaʿfar. Mūsā wrote to Muḥammad, "I am reporting to you that I have now encountered Syria and its people. The mildest statement was that of one who said, 'By God, we've become so fed up with misfortune and so weary of it that there can be no place for us [Syrians] in this affair. We have no need of it.' Among them is a group who swear that 'if we awake from tonight or reach evening tomorrow, that will improve our lot greatly and be a very good omen for us.' I have written to you even though I've had to hide my face and been in fear of my life."

According to al-Ḥārith: It is said that Mūsā, Rizām, and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar[872] headed off for Syria at the head of a cohort. When they got to Taymāʾ,[873] Rizām stayed behind in order to buy provisions for them. He then rode on to Iraq while Mūsā and his confederates went back to Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh informed me in Baghdad—Rizām being present as well—as follows: "Muḥammad sent Rizām and me to Syria in command of the men who accompanied us so that we could summon people to his cause. We were in Dawmat al-Jandal[874] when a massive heat wave hit us. We therefore got down from our riding animals and bathed in a pool. Rizām unsheathed his sword and then stood behind me, crying, "O Mūsā, do you think that if I were to behead you and then take your head to Abū Jaʿfar that anyone would stand as well with him

872. See note 743.

873. Taymāʾ was an oasis city in the northwestern section of the Arabian peninsula that lies between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria. *EI*[1], s.v. Taimāʾ (F. Buhl); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 93; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 67.

874. Dawmat al-Jandal, or Dūmat al-Jandal, was a North Arabian oasis on the road from Medina to Damascus, about fifteen days' march from the former. *EI*[2] s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 91; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 487–89; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 151.

[217] as I?" I said, "You never stop fooling around, Abū Qays. Now sheathe your sword and may God forgive you." He sheathed his sword and we mounted.

Accorrding to 'Īsā: Mūsā turned back before reaching Syria. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad and he went to al-Baṣrah, where they were pointed out and detained.

According to 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. Thābit b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr—his brother, 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' the Elder:[875] When Muḥammad made his uprising, my father, Nāfi' b. Thābit,[876] did not come to him. Muḥammad thus sent for him, and my father went to him while he was in the Dār Marwān. "O Abū 'Abdallāh," Muḥammad said, "I did not see you coming to us." Nāfi' b. Thābit replied, "I simply have no sympathy for what you intend to do." Muḥammad kept on at him, insisting, "At least wear your arms so that others will follow your example." "O fellow," exclaimed Ibn Nāfi', "By God, I judge you're on a bad bet: You have made an uprising in a region in which there is no money or troops or mounts or weapons. But I'm not going to destroy myself with you or help [others] to shed my blood." "Go away," said Muḥammad. "After this you will count for nothing." Nāfi' continued to reside there, however, frequenting the mosque until Muḥammad was killed. In fact, Nāfi' alone prayed in the mosque of God's Messenger on the day Muḥammad was killed.

At the time of his uprising Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh sent—'Umar reported on the authority of Azhar b. Sa'īd b. Nāfi'—al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiyah to Mecca as its governor. With al-Ḥasan was al-'Abbās b. al-Qāsim, a member of Abū Lahab's[877] family. Al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh [Abū Ja'far's governor of Mecca] did not become aware of their presence until they were near to Mecca. He went out to them, and his *mawlā* said to him, "What do you

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875. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 371–74, identifies him among those from whom his brother transmitted as 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' al-Kabīr (rather than al-Akbar).

876. Nāfi' b. Thābit b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, grandson of the man who rebelled against the Umayyads in Mecca and was defeated in 72/692 by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf after a six-month siege. *EI*², s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Zubayr (H. A. R. Gibb).

877. Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzah, a paternal uncle of Muḥammad, withdrew clan protection from the Prophet after the death of Abū Ṭālib. For this he was excoriated in the Qur'ān, in *sūrat al-Masad* [111], which draws one of its other titles from his sobriquet of Abū Lahab, meaning "Father of the Flame." *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

think we should do now that we've come so close to them?" "Flee, all of you, with God's blessing," said al-Sarī, "and meet me at Bi'r Maymūn."[878] They did so, and al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah entered Mecca. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣakhr, a member of the Uways family, left the same night and reached Abū Jaʿfar in nine days. He reported to the caliph, who said, "The Qārah are fair to those who shoot at them." Then he rewarded him with 300 dirhams.[879]

According to ʿUmar— Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ [218] b. Muʿāwiyah—his father: I was with Muḥammad at the time when he gave al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah charge of Mecca. Al-Ḥasan asked him, "Do you think there will be heavy fighting between us and the people in Mecca? What are your thoughts about al-Sarī?" "O al-Ḥasan," Muḥammad said, "al-Sarī has always shunned what we find hateful, loathing what Abū Jaʿfar has done. If you are victorious over him, then don't kill him or upset his people or seize his possessions. If he gets away from you, don't try to track him down."

ʿUmar continued: Al-Ḥasan said to Muḥammad, "O Commander of the Faithful, I never thought you'd say such things about someone from the family of al-ʿAbbās." Muḥammad replied, "But I do. Al-Sarī has always been angry at what Abū Jaʿfar did."

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of the ʿAnj: I was in Mecca, and at the time when he made his uprising, Muḥammad dispatched to us al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAnbasah, who was called "Abū Jabrah." Al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah was in command of them. Against them al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh sent his secretary, Miskīn b. Hilāl, at the head of 1000, a *mawlā* of his, Miskīn b. Nāfiʿ, commanding another 1000, and a man from Mecca called Ibn Faras (who was renowned for his bravery), leading yet another 700. Al-Sarī gave Ibn Faras 500 dīnārs. The opposing forces met at Baṭn

878. Bi'r Maymūn was a well near Mecca whose precise location is unclear. It is later mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 456, as the site of al-Manṣūr's death. *EI*², s.v. (G. Rentz); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 302; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 6, 157.

879. Qārah was a tribal group belonging to al-Hawn b. Khuzaymah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I 49, II, 465. On p. 163 his reward is recorded as 9,000 dirhams.

Adhāḥir,[880] which is located between two passes. One was the pass that leads down to Dhū Ṭuwā[881] and over which the prophet Muḥammad and his Companions came down to Mecca. Therefore it is an entry into the sacred territory. The two groups sent messages to each other. Ḥasan sent word to al-Sarī, saying, "Quit the area between us and Mecca. Do not spill blood[882] in God's sacred territory." The two messengers swore to al-Sarī, saying, "We
[219] have waited until Abū Jaʿfar died to come to you." To them al-Sarī replied, "I will take the same oath upon myself [to say] that four days have passed since a messenger from the Commander of the Faithful has come to me. Therefore, grant me a delay of four nights, for I expect another of my messengers. In the meantime, I will undertake to look after you and your riding animals. If what you are saying is true, I will hand Mecca over to you. If it is false, I will strive against you until you conquer me or I conquer you." But al-Ḥasan refused, saying, "We won't delay until we've fought against you." Now with al-Ḥasan were [only] seventy men and seven horse soldiers.[883] When they drew close to al-Sarī, al-Ḥasan said to his troops, "Not one of you should advance until Wathīq[884] blows the trumpet. When he does so, then let your charge be as one." When we (the Meccans) came close to them and al-Ḥasan feared that al-Sarī would overwhelm him and his confederates, he shouted at Wathīq, "For God's sake, blow the trumpet." This he did, and they charged us as one man. Al-Sarī's associates were routed, however, with seven of their soldiers being killed.

According to ʿUmar: Al-Ḥasan overtook them with some horsemen from his forces. Al-Sarī's men were behind the pass

880. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII. Given as Adhākhir in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 127, and Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 549 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 817.

881. Also vocalized as Dhū Ṭawā in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 45, it is identified as a site near Mecca that serves as one of the boundary markers for the *ḥaram*. The Qurʾān, 20:12, 79:16, refers to the valley by the name of Ṭuwā, as the place where God called Moses. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XV, 21.

882. Second-person pl., following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 574.

883. For the symbolic use of seven and seventy to express ideas of magnitude or of divine influence, see Conrad, "Seven and the Tasbīʿ."

884. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII, following the subseqent references. Wathīq is mentioned later at III, 267, as one of the leaders of an uprising of blacks in Medina.

with a Qurashī group who had gone forth with them. He reproached them, trying to get them to help him. But when the Qurashīs saw them, they said, "These associates of yours have already been routed." Al-Sarī retorted, "Don't be hasty; wait until the cavalry and the men appear in the mountains." But they asked him what was left, and he admitted, "By the grace of God they have all been routed." They continued to flee until they entered the government compound (*dār al-imārah*), throwing off their fighting gear, rushed at a soldier named Abū al-Rizām, and entered his house. They were still there when al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiyah entered the mosque and addressed the people, announcing to them the death of Abū Ja'far and calling upon them to support Muḥammad's cause.

According to 'Umar—Ya'qūb b. al-Qāsim—al-Ghamr b. Ḥamzah b. Abī Ramlah, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's *mawlā*: When [220]
al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiyah seized Mecca and al-Sarī fled, the news reached Abū Ja'far, and he said, "Poor old Ibn Abī al-'Aḍal [i.e. al-Sarī]!"

According to 'Umar—Ibn Abī Musāwir b. 'Abdallāh b. Musāwir, the *mawlā* of the Banū Nā'ilah from the Banū 'Abdallāh b. Mu'ayṣ:[885] I was in Mecca with al-Sarī b. 'Abdallāh when al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiyah reached him before Muḥammad's uprising. At that time al-Sarī was actually in al-Ṭā'if, and his deputy in Mecca was Ibn Surāqah from the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b.[886] Ibn Surāqah appealed to 'Utbah b. Abī Khidāsh al-Lahabī for assistance against al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiyah in the matter of a debt that al-Ḥasan owed to him. 'Utbah thus placed al-Ḥasan in confinement. Al-Sarī wrote to Ibn Abī Khidāsh on his behalf: "Now then, you've made a mess of things[887] and struck a bad judgment for yourself when you imprisoned Ibn Mu'āwiyah but got only money from his brother." Al-Sarī then wrote to Ibn Surāqah ordering him to release al-Ḥasan, and he wrote to [al-Ḥasan] b.

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885. The Leiden text's vocalization; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 27, 28, II, 383, gives Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir and identifies them as a clan of 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.

886. 'Adī b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy was a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 26, II, 139; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 150–59.

887. *Fa-qad akhṭa'ta ḥaẓẓaka*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

Muʿāwiyah telling him to stay there until he arrived and made a decision about his situation.

According to ʿUmar: Not long after this Muḥammad made his uprising, and al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah set out for al-Sarī as [Muḥammad's] governor of Mecca. Al-Sarī was told that, lo and behold, Ibn Muʿāwiyah had drawn near, to which he replied, "Surely he won't do anything, given my efforts on his behalf. In fact, how could the people of Medina come out against me? By God, there is no house in the city where some kind act of mine has not penetrated." He was told that al-Ḥasan had already established himself [in the city], so he came back [from al-Ṭā'if].

According to ʿUmar: Ibn Jurayj[888] went to al-Ḥasan, and he said to him, "Listen here, fellow, you'll never get into Mecca. Its people are on al-Sarī's side. Do you think you can conquer Quraysh and force it to give up its home!" Al-Ḥasan replied, "O weaver's son, are you trying to scare me with the people of Mecca? By God, I shall either pass the night there or die outside it!" At this, he leapt up at the head of his associates as al-Sarī approached him,
[221] and he confronted him in Fakhkh.[889] One of al-Ḥasan's men struck al-Sarī's secretary, Miskīn b. Hilāl, on the head and split it open. Al-Sarī and his confederates were put to flight, and al-Ḥasan's men entered Mecca. Abū al-Rizām, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār[890] from the family of Saybah, took al-Sarī under his protection,[891] keeping him hidden in his house as al-Ḥasan entered Mecca. In fact, al-Ḥasan stayed in Mecca for only a short time. Then a letter arrived from Muḥammad ordering al-Ḥasan to join him.

888. Abū Walīd or Abū Khālid ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj (d. 150/767) was a Meccan *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*; he is often cited as among the first to produce an ordered collection of *ḥadīths*. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 196–97, who qualifies this assertion. *EI²*, Suppl., s.v. Ibn Djuraydj (Ch. Pellat); *GAS*, I, 91; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 21–22.

889. Fakhkh, sometimes known as Wādī al-Zāhir, was a place near Mecca that was to become the site of a related ʿAlid insurrection in 169/786 led by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh. *EI²*, s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 237–38.

890. The Banū ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy were a clan of Quraysh; they are first mentioned by Ṭabarī, I, 1137, in connection with the rebuilding of the Kaʿbah during the Prophet's lifetime. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, II, 123; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 125–28.

891. *Wa-iltaffa Abū al-Rizām* . . . *ʿalā al-Sarī*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *laffa*.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim: I heard countless of our associates mention that when al-Ḥasan and al-Qāsim took Mecca, they equipped themselves and gathered a large force. Then they went forth to meet Muḥammad and to assist him against ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. As their deputy in Mecca, they left a descendant of the Anṣār. In Qudayd,[892] news of Muḥammad's death met them. At this, people began to slip away from them. Al-Ḥasan took off for Basqah, there being in the sands a stony area called the Basqah of Qudayd.[893] He met up with Ibrāhīm and remained in al-Baṣrah until Ibrāhīm was killed. Al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq also headed toward Ibrāhīm. When he was in Yadīʿ,[894] in the region of Fadak, news of Ibrāhīm's death reached him. He therefore went back to Medina and remained hidden until the daughter of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, the wife of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, obtained for him and for his brother a guarantee of safety. Then the sons of Muʿāwiyah came out of hiding,[895] and al-Qāsim did so as well.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of ʿAnj: When al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah had triumphed over al-Sarī, he halted a little while until the letter from Muḥammad came to him [222]
with orders to join him, and also reporting to him that ʿĪsā had drawn close to Medina and urging him to be quick in getting there.

According to ʿUmar: Al-Ḥasan left Mecca in a heavy rain on Monday, which they assert is the day on which Muḥammad was killed. One of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's couriers met up with him in Amaj,[896] a watering place of the Khuzāʿah [tribe] that lies between ʿUsfān[897] and Qudayd, with the news of Muḥammad's death. Hearing this, al-Ḥasan fled, as did his associates.

892. Qudayd was a Ḥijāzī site, also known as al-Khaym or Khaym Umm Maʿbad, on the route from Mecca to Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 313–14; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 76, 82.

893. Like *ḥarrah*, the word *basqah* connotes an area of lava flow and volcanic debris. Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 59.

894. Yadīʿ was a district between Fadak and Khaybar. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 433.

895. *Fa-ẓahara* with Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 576. The Leiden text has *fa-ṣaharahu*.

896. Amaj was a site in the area of Khulayṣ. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 70; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 249.

897. ʿUsfān was a watering place on the route from Mecca to Medina and was thus called, according to Yāqūt, because a stream cut randomly through it. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 88; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV 121–22.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—Abū Sayyār: I was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's chamberlain, and a rider came to me at night and said, "I have just arrived from al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm has already made his uprising there and has taken control of the city." I went first to the Dār Marwān and then to the place where Muḥammad was staying. I banged on the door, and Muḥammad shouted at the top of his lungs, "Who's there?" "Abū Sayyār," I said. "There is no might and no power except in God,"[898] he responded. "O God, I seek protection with You from the evil of knockers in the night except from the one who knocks on Your behalf bringing good." He then added, "Is it good?" "It is," I said. He asked, "What is behind your call?" I answered, "Ibrāhīm has seized al-Baṣrah." Now, when Muḥammad said the sunset and the dawn prayer, someone would shout aloud, "Pray to God for your brothers among the people of al-Baṣrah and for al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, and ask His assistance against your enemy."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: A Syrian by the name of Abū ʿAmr came to us and stayed at our house. My father kept asking him, "What to do you think of this fellow?" To this Abū ʿAmr would answer, "When I've met him and sounded him out, then I'll let you know." Sometime later my father encountered Abū ʿAmr and questioned him. "By God," responded Abū ʿAmr, "he's a man all right, but I saw that the fat on his back was a yard thick. That's not how a true warrior looks." Yet afterward Abū ʿAmr gave Muḥammad the oath of allegiance and fought with him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Salm,[899] the
[223] *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr who went by the name Ibn al-Bawwāb: Abū Jaʿfar wrote a letter, as if from the tongue of Muḥammad, to al-Aʿmash,[900] calling upon him for help. When he read it, al-Aʿmash said, "We know you well, O Banū Hāshim. You are the sort who

898. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 532 s.v. *ḥāla*.

899. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Salm, identified also as ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Bawwāb, was doorkeeper to the caliph al-Hādī as the deputy of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and later vizier for Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 590.

900. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī (d. 148/765), a noted scholar of Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, was born in Ṭabaristān but lived most of his life in al-Kūfah and died there. The sources differ about whether his transmissions from

love bread soup (*tharīd*).'"[901] When the messenger returned to Abū Ja'far, he made his report with the statement: "I swear, these are al-A'mash's very words."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh had taken over Medina and, getting word of that, we went forth immediately. We were but lads; in fact, at that time I was only fifteen years old. We reached him when people had already gathered around to get a look at him. No one was being held back from him, so I got up close and took a good, long look at him. He was on horseback, wearing a pleated white shirt and a white turban. He was a broad-chested man with a face scarred by smallpox. His next move was to send someone off to Mecca. That city was seized in his name, and its people donned white.[902] He sent his brother, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, to al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm occupied that city and brought it under his control, so its people put on white as well.

The account now returns to that transmitted by 'Umar:

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The Commander of the Faithful, Abū Ja'far, put 'Īsā b. Mūsā in charge of the fight against Muḥammad, saying, "I don't care which of those two kills the other." The caliph gave 'Īsā 4,000 soldiers detached from the army and sent with him Muḥammad, the son of Abū al-'Abbās, [the late] Commander of the Faithful.[903]

According to 'Umar—'Abd al-Malik b. Shaybān—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Misma': When Abū Ja'far ordered 'Īsā b. Mūsā to present himself, the latter said, "Seek the advice of your uncles." "Get going, fellow," retorted Abū Ja'far. "By God, no one is intended other than you or me. Either you must go, or I must." 'Īsā therefore traveled until he reached us in Medina.

Anas b. Mālik are legitimate. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 342–44; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 226–48; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 429–31; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 309–10, 315–16 = *Opkomst*, 283, 288.

901. A soup made of bread, broth, and vegetables, it was counted among the favorite dishes of the Prophet Muḥammad. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 290; *EI*², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson); Waines, "Cereals, Bread, and Society, 266."

902. White was the color associated with 'Alid support. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 51; cf. 'Athamina, "Black Banners," 323–24.

903. See note 394.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān: Abū Jaʿfar
[224] summoned Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī who, though leprous for many years, was very knowledgeable about warfare.[904] He had even been on the battlefield with Marwān. The caliph said to him, "O Jaʿfar, Muḥammad has now come out in open revolt. What are your thoughts on this?" "Where did he make his uprising?" asked Jaʿfar. "In Medina," replied Abū Jaʿfar. At this Jaʿfar exclaimed, "Praise God, he has staged his revolt in a place where he will find no resources, no men, no weapons, and no mounts. Send one of your *mawlās* in whom you have confidence. Have him go as far as Wādī al-Qurā.[905] From there he can prevent Syrian provisions from reaching Muḥammad, who will starve to death where he is. The caliph did as Jaʿfar advised.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd: I heard our associates Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā,[906] ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr,[907] and others mention that Abū Jaʿfar sent Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī on ahead. Kathīr camped at Fayd and entrenched himself against Muḥammad until the time of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's arrival. Then Kathīr went on to Medina with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. ʿAbdallāh added, "I actually saw the trench still there for a long time, but eventually it was obliterated and disappeared."

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib whom I encountered in Ṣanʿāʾ:[908] At the time when he sent him against Muḥammad. Abū Jaʿfar said to ʿĪsā, "You must let Abū al-ʿAskar Mismaʿ b. Muḥammad b. Shaybān b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ[909] travel with you. I once saw him hold Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b.

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904. Further to this conversation see Lassner, "Provincial Administration: Governors of the *Ḥaramayn*," 44–45.

905. Wādī al-Qurā was the valley that lay northwest of Medina as a principal corridor to Syria. Its Jewish inhabitants were defeated by the Prophet Muḥammad in 7/628. *EI*[1], s.v. Wādi -l-Ḳurā (A. Grohmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 88; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 345.

906. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Bajalī al-Sammān.

907. Both Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā and ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr share the professional designation al-Sammān, i.e. "butter merchant."

908. Ṣanʿāʾ is the present-day Yemeni capital. It is situated on a broad plain in the Sarāt chain. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 425–31; *EI*[1], s.v. (R. Strothmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 84.

909. Abū al-ʿAskar Mismaʿ b. Muḥammad was a descendant of one of the leading households of Umayyad al-Baṣrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Morony, *Iraq*, 257.

Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah back from the people of al-Baṣrah, who were ready to rally against him[910] when he was recruiting for Marwān. Saʿīd stayed, instead, with Abū al-ʿAskar, eating sugared marrow." ʿĪsā therefore went forth in the company of Mismaʿ. When ʿĪsā was in Baṭn Nakhl,[911] Mismaʿ and al-Masʿūdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd[912] stayed behind until Muḥammad was killed. When Abū Jaʿfar heard about that, he said to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "I hope you behead him!" [225]

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—his father: As he was bidding him farewell, Abū Jaʿfar said to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā,[913] "ʿĪsā, I am sending you to what is between these two—and he pointed to his two sides [i.e., to what I hold most important]—so if you can subdue the fellow, then sheathe your sword and offer a general amnesty. But if he gets away, then make them a surety for him until they bring him to you. They will know where he goes." When ʿĪsā entered Medina, that is what he did.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in Medina. With him he sent Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās, son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful, and a number of the Khurāsānī commanders and their troops. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭāʾī[914] headed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard. The caliph supplied them with horses, mules, weapons, and provisions, leaving nothing uprovided.[915] Along with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā he dispatched Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-

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910. *Muḥlibūn ʿalayhi*, with Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 624.

911. Baṭn Nakhl was a stage on the route from al-Baṣrah to Medina. Ṭabarī, III, 267, 557, later specifies its situation as about two nights' journey, or thirty (*farsakhs*), from Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 449–50; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 71.

912. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hudhalī al-Masʿūdī was a Kūfan *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who died in 165/781. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 93–95; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 195–96.

913. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 544.

914. See note 48.

915. *Fa-lam yatruk lahu shayʾan*, following the suggested emendation in note *b*. The text reads *fa-lam yanzil*, which could mean "and ʿĪsā did not break his march," i.e., he was so well equipped that he did not need to make the usual halts to gather reinforcements.

Jaʿfarī,[916] one of Abū Jaʿfar's inner circle and favorably disposed to the ʿAbbāsids. Abū Jaʿfar had confidence in him and therefore sent him. . . .[917]

The account returns to that of ʿUmar b. Shabbah.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū Jaʿfar wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "Write down for me the names of those members of the Abū Ṭālib family who actually meet with you. As for those who do not, confiscate their property." ʿĪsā therefore seized the spring of Abū Ziyād because Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad [i.e. Abū Ziyād][918] stayed hidden away from him. But at the time of Abū Jaʿfar's arrival, Jaʿfar spoke with him and asked about his property. The caliph retorted, "Your Mahdī has already seized it."

[226] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When ʿĪsā got as far as Fayd, he wrote [messages] on strips of silk to certain leading men of Medina, including ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī and ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī.[919] When his letters arrived in Medina, many people broke away from Muḥammad, including ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib. He, however, was seized and brought back. He stayed for a short while and then left again but was returned yet another time. His brother ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib[920] was among Muḥammad's strongest supporters. He kept talking to Muḥammad about his brother until he persuaded Muḥammad to leave him alone.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā wrote to my father on a piece of yellow silk, which a bedouin brought between the soles[921] of his sandals. I saw the bedouin sitting in our house, being at the time but a small boy. He handed the letter to my father.

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916. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī appears later in the narrative (pp. 231, 298) as the one who carries Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's head to Abū Jaʿfar and identifies Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's head for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

917. There is a portion missing here from the Algiers manuscript.

918. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. See p. 222, where the "spring of Abū Ziyād" (*ʿayn Abī Ziyād*) is identified as a land grant (*qaṭīʿah*).

919. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān served as judge of Baghdad under Abū Jaʿfar and governor of Medina under al-Mahdī. He died in 160/776–77. Ṭabarī, III, 458, 460, 469, 482; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, where the governor's name is given as Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 306.

920. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī. His brother was judge of Medina. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 563.

921. *Bayna khiṣāfay naʿlihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaṣafa*.

It read thus: "Muḥammad has taken upon himself what God has not bestowed on him and has reached out for what God has not given to him. In His book God said, 'Say: O God, Master of sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You strip sovereignty from whom You will. You exalt whom You will and You abase whom You will. In Your hand is what is good. You have power over everything'."[922] [The letter concluded:] "Be quick to get it over with! Less waiting and watching! Call upon those of your people who obey you to go forth with you."

According to ʿUmar: He went off along with ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar and Abū ʿAqīl Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl. They called upon al-Afṭas Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to join them, but he refused, maintaining a steadfast allegiance to Muḥammad. Muḥammad was told that they had left, so he sent for their camels and confiscated them. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad thus came to Muḥammad and said, "You summon [people] to justice and to the repudiation of tyranny. Why then were my camels seized? I had just prepared them for a major or lesser Pilgrimage. Muḥammad handed the camels over to him and then they left under cover of the same night, [227]
meeting up with ʿĪsā four or five nights out of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān—his father: Abū Jaʿfar wrote letters to certain leading Qurashīs and others and ordered ʿĪsā to send the letters to them when he got near to Medina. Accordingly, as ʿĪsā drew close, he sent the letter to their intended recipients. Muḥammad's guardsmen, however, seized both the messenger and the letters. Among them Muḥammad found a letter to Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar and to a number of Qurashī leaders. Muḥammad sent for us all, except Ibn ʿUmar and Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabrah.[923] We were confined in the Dār Ibn Hishām, which was near the oratory. My father continued: Muḥammad sent for me and for my brother, and we were brought forward and beaten 300 times each. As he was beating me and saying, "You meant to kill

922. Qur'ān, 3:26.

923. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah was a *muḥaddith* and judge of Mecca under al-Manṣūr. He died in Baghdad in 162/778. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 29; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 330–32; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312 = *Opkomst*, 286.

me," I said to him, "I spared you when you were keeping yourself hidden behind a rock and in a tent. But finally, at the point when Medina came into your hand and your position became harsh, I stood against you. With whom should I stand? I have no intention of losing my power, or my possessions, or my kinfolk [for your sake]." Then Muḥammad ordered us[924] back to prison, and we were fettered with leg irons and chains amounting to eighty *raṭls*[925] in weight. Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān[926] went to see Muḥammad and said, "I have beaten these two men viciously and so completely fettered them that they cannot pray the ritual prayer." Ayyūb b. ʿUmar's father and brother remained imprisoned until the arrival of ʿĪsā.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam:[927] As ʿĪsā was drawing near Medina, we were with Muḥammad one night when he said, "Give me your advice. Should I get out of here or should I stay?"[928] His followers differed, so he turned to
[228] me and said, "Tell me what to do, Ibn Abī Jaʿfar." "Don't you know," I said, "that you are in the land of God least endowed with horses, food, and weapons and the most deficient in manpower?" "Yes, I do," he replied. "Don't you know," I said, "that you will be fighting the strongest of God's lands in men and the one with the most wealth and weapons?" "Yes, to be sure," he replied. "The best course, then," I said, "is to proceed to Egypt with those who support you. For I swear that no one there could turn you back, and you could fight the fellow with weapons like his, with mounts like his, with men like his, and with resources like his." At this Ḥunayn b. ʿAbdallāh shouted out, "God forbid that you should leave Medina" and recounted to him the saying of the

924. *Thumma amara binā*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII.

925. The Baghdādī standard for the *raṭl* (pl. *arṭāl*) is the equivalent of about 406 grams, i.e., about one pound. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 31.

926. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who died in 148/765. He was the *mawlā* of Fāṭimah bt. Walīd b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah, whose father and grandfather were killed at the battle of Badr. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 92, his mother was pregnant with him for three years and he was born with developed teeth. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 317–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 303–5; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312–13 = *Opkomst*, 286.

927. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII.

928. See Lassner, "Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr," 42–43, who notes this conversation as a parallel to that between Abū Jaʿfar and Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah (p. 186).

Prophet, "I saw myself in an invulnerable breastplate, and I took that to be Medina."[929]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar—someone close whom he trusted: At the time of his uprising, the people of Medina and its environs, as well as certain bedouin tribes such as Juhaynah, Muzaynah, Sulaym,[930] the Banū Bakr,[931] Aslam[932] and Ghifār,[933] responded to Muḥammad. [Unfortunately] he gave precedence to the Juhaynah, which angered the Qaysī tribes.

According to Muḥammad—ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿrūf, one of the descendants of Riyāḥ b. Mālik b. ʿUṣayyah b. Khufāf,[934] who had witnessed this himself: The Banū Sulaym came to Muḥammad under the leadership of their headmen. Their spokesman, Jābir b. Anas al-Riyāḥī, said, "Commander of the Faithful, we are your maternal uncles and your neighbors, and we have weapons and mounts in our possession. By God, Islam came at a time when the Banū Sulaym owned more horses than there were in the Ḥijāz. Indeed, if a bedouin had what remains with us now, the entire desert would be at his disposal. Do not dig a trench. The Messenger of God dug his trench for reasons God knows best. If you dig a trench, the footsoldiers will not be able to fight effectively and the horses will not be able to be moved on our behalf between the lines. Those in front of whom a trench is dug are those who must fight in it, while it prevents them from getting at those against whom it is dug." At this one of the Banū Shujāʿ[935] inter- [229]

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929. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 268, gives this as "I saw myself putting my hand into an invulnerable breastplate, whose beginning was in Medina" and dates it to the year of the battle of Uḥud. See Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 120.

930. See notes 156, 187, and 123, respectively.

931. Bakr b. Wāʾil were a North Arabian tribal group belonging to Rabīʿah. *EI²*, s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, II, 223; Donner, "Bakr b. Wāʾil Tribes."

932. Aslam b. Afṣā were a clan of Khuzāʿah, a group of whom became Muslims after meeting the Prophet Muḥammad on his *hijrah* to Medina. *EI²*, s.v. Khuzāʿa (M. J. Kister); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 200, 201, II, 197; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 240–42.

933. Banū Ghifār b. Mulayk (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 42, gives Mulayl) b. Ḍamrah b. Bakr were a clan of Kinānah centered in the Ḥijāz between Mecca and Medina. They accepted an alliance with the Prophet and fought with him in the campaign against Mecca. *EI²*, s.v. (J. W. Fück) and s.v. Kināna (W. M. Watt).

934. Riyāḥ b. Mālik were a clan of the Banū Sulaym. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 122, II, 488.

935. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, lists this as a clan of Juhaynah. Their steadfast bravery is given special mention at III, 240, 242, 255. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 531.

vened, saying, "The Messenger of God dug a trench, so follow his way of thinking, or do you intend to set aside the Messenger of God's way for your own?" "O Ibn Shujāʿ," Jābir responded, "nothing weighs more heavily on you and your associates than actually meeting them [in battle], and nothing is more to my liking and that of my associates than fighting them directly." "With the trench," Muḥammad added, "we have simply followed the Messenger of God's footsteps. No one can turn us from him nor will I forsake him."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Muḥammad knew for certain that ʿĪsā had advanced, he excavated the trench, the one dug by the Prophet for the confederacies.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah, the *mawlā* of the Muṭṭalibīs. When Muḥammad had the trench dug, he rode out to it, wearing a white outer garment and a sash. With him rode the people. When he came to the place, he got down into it and took the lead in digging with his hand, extracting a brick from the Prophet's trench. He shouted *Allāhu akbar*, as did the people with him, who [also] exclaimed, "Rejoice in victory. This is the trench of your forefather, the Messenger of God."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: As ʿĪsā made camp in al-Aʿwaṣ, Muḥammad ascended the pulpit to praise and glorify God. Then he said, "God's enemy and yours, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, has now encamped at al-Aʿwaṣ. Surely the people with the strongest claim to uphold this religion are the descendants [*abnā*ʾ][936] of the first Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who assisted them.[937]

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Abī Isḥāq al-ʿAbsī,[938] a *shaykh* of the Ghaṭafān[939]—Abū ʿAmr, the teacher [*muʾaddib*] of

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936. Often found within the expression *abnā*ʾ *al-dawlah*, this term became one of special significance for the ʿAbbāsids as a designation for the family members and the descendants of their early Khurāsānī supporters. EI^2, s.v. (B. Lewis).

937. Cf. the sermon on p. 153.

938. He is subsequently identified in Ṭabarī, III, 234, as Ibrāhīm al-Ghaṭafānī.

939. The Banū Ghaṭafān b. Saʿd, a tribal subgroup of Qays ʿAylān, were late in offering allegiance to the Prophet and renounced their alliance in the *riddah*

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān— al-Zubayrī, i.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid, whom Abū Jaʿfar killed: Gathered with Muḥammad was a group whose equal or augment I have never seen. I would estimate that we were 100,000. As ʿĪsā drew close to the city, Muḥammad preached to us, saying, "O people, this man has now come near you with a large force and full war apparatus. I hereby absolve you from your oath of allegiance to me. Whoever wishes to stay may do so. Whoever wishes to leave may do so." People slipped away until Muḥammad was left at the head of a band which was far from numerous. [230]

According to ʿUmar—Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Samʿān, one of the sons of Qarīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb—his father: When Muḥammad made his uprising, the people rallied to him. He crowded them together and seized control of the mountain passes so that no one could get out. Hearing that ʿĪsā and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah had approached, Muḥammad climbed the pulpit and said, "O people, we gathered you together to fight and closed the mountain passes against you. Now this enemy is near to you and at the head of a large force. Victory, however, comes from God, and the affair is in His hand. It seems right to me that I should give you permission [to leave] and open the passes for you. Whoever wishes to remain should stay but whoever wishes to be off may leave." A world of people left, including me. When we were in al-ʿUrayḍ,[940] which is about three *mīls* from Medina, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard met up with us just outside of al-Ruḥbah.[941] Their forces looked exactly like a swarm of locusts. We kept going, and ʿĪsā's forces headed for Medina going in the opposite direction to ours.[942]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Many people from Medina left the city with their children [231]
and their families for the outlying regions and the mountains. Muḥammad ordered Abū al-Qalammas to bring back those

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wars. *EI²*, s.v. (J. W. Fück); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 274; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 248–49.

940. Al-ʿUrayḍ is a district in the *ḥarrah* area near Medina. Ṭabarī, I, 1365, 1372; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 114.

941. Al-Ruḥbah is a town on the route to Syria that runs through Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 33.

942. *Wa-khālafūnā ilā al-Madīnah.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khalafa*; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 396; Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 794.

whom he could, but a considerable number were impossible to reach, so he left them alone.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—al-Ghāḍirī:[943] Muḥammad asked me, "If I give you a weapon will you fight with me?" "Yes," I said, "if you give me a spear, I shall pierce them with it when they are in al-Aʿwaṣ, a sword and I shall strike them with it when them are in Hayfā."[944] Before very long he sent for me and asked, "What are you waiting for?" "How light a matter for you, may God preserve you!" I said. "If I am killed and people pass by, and someone will say, 'There, by God, was a real desert Arab!' [what will you care?]." Muḥammad replied, "Woe to you, the people of Syria, Iraq, and Khurāsān have already put on white." I said, "[Go ahead and] make the world be white as cream and me black as the pencase's wool! With ʿĪsā in al-Aʿwaṣ, what difference does it make to *me*?"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father—his grandfather: Together with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, Abū Jaʿfar dispatched Ibn al-Aṣamm ["the Deaf"], who attended to his staging posts for him. When they reached the environs of Medina, they settled about a *mīl* from the mosque of the Messenger of God. Ibn al-Aṣamm said, "Look you, the cavalry have no task alongside the foot soldiers. I am afraid that if the troops leave you exposed, they will penetrate your forces." ʿĪsā therefore moved them up to the watering place of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Jurf,[945] which was about four *mīls* from Medina. He cautioned, "No foot soldier should venture more than two or three *mīls* beyond until the cavalry catches up with him."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām: Having made camp near al-Qadūm,[946] ʿĪsā sent for me in the mid-
[232] dle of the night, and I found him sitting with a [lighted] candle and monies in front of him. "Scouts have come to inform me," he said, "that this man is in a weak position, but I fear that he will sally forth. I assume that he has no road but to Mecca. Take for

943. Al-Ghāḍirī al-Muḍḥik.

944. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX, while the Leiden text reads Hasfā. This is the only reference in Ṭabarī, and it is not cited in Yāqūt.

945. Al-Jurf was a site about three *mīls* from Medina on the way to Syria. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 128; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 90.

946. Al-Qadūm was a mountain near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 312.

yourself 500 men and go with them toward Mecca, yet veering from the road until you come to the tree. Then stay there." 'Īsā b. Mūsā paid them by the light of the candle, and I went forth with them, passing the al-Baṣrah [road] in the Baṭḥā', i.e., the Baṭḥā' Ibn Azhar,[947] about six *mīls* from Medina. The people there were afraid, so I said, "Don't be afraid. I am Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. Do you have any barley mush (*sawīq*)?"[948] They brought us some barley mush, and we drank, staying there until Muḥammad was killed.

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl—a trustworthy source he knew: As 'Īsā drew close [to Medina], he sent al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd[949] to Muḥammad to prevail upon him to abandon his purpose and to inform him that the Commander of the Faithful had given him and his household a guarantee of safety. Muḥammad said to al-Qāsim, "By God, were it not for the fact that messengers are not to be killed, I would behead you. From the time you were a lad, I have never seen you faced with a choice between good and bad parties when you didn't go for the bad rather than the good." Muḥammad sent word to 'Īsā, "Listen, fellow, certainly you are closely related to the Messsenger of God. Therefore do I summon you to the Book of God, to the *sunnah*[950] of His Prophet and to acting in obedience to Him. I warn you of God's retribution and His punishments. I will not abandon this affair until[951] God Himself has cast it aside. Hear me now, lest the one who calls you to God kills you, and you die as the worst

947. A *baṭḥā'* is a broad, shallow riverbed. The Prophet halted beneath a tree in the Baṭḥā' Ibn Azhar when making his raid on al-'Ushayrah. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 285 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 421; Ṭabarī, I, 1268; Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 59; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 446.

948. Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1472, describes this as a kind of gruel made by moistening barley or wheat with water, clarified butter, or other forms of fat. A Qurashī expedition against the Prophet in the second year after the *hijrah* became known as *ghawzat al-sawīq* because of the sacks of barley meal which were discarded by the raiders as they made their retreat. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 361–62 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 543–44; Ṭabarī, I, 1364–67; Waines, "Cereals, Bread, and Society," 266, 282–83.

949. Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd was the great-great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, table 8.

950. The "practice" of the Prophet, i.e., the norms for Muslim behavior that are drawn from the words and deeds of Muḥammad as recorded in the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*.

951. *Ḥatta*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX.

[possible] victim. On the other hand, if you kill him, then surely your burden will be even greater and your offense more monstrous." Muḥammad sent this letter with Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar.[952] When Ibrāhīm delivered it to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the latter said, "Go back to your master and say to him, 'There can be nothing between us but battle.' "

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām
[233] b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—his father: When ʿĪsā drew near to Medina, he sent me to Muḥammad with a guarantee of safety for him. Muḥammad said to me, "Why would you people fight me and consider shedding my blood lawful when I am simply a man who is trying to avoid killing?"[953] "My people are calling you to [accept] the guarantee of safety," I said. "If you refuse to do anything but fight them, they will fight you just as the best of your ancestors, ʿAlī, fought Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr[954] for breaching the oath of allegiance made to them, for assailing their regnal authority,[955] and for striving against them." I later informed Abū Jaʿfar of that, and he said, 'It certainly does not make me happy that you said one thing to him and quite another to me.' "

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah[956]—Māhān b. Bakht, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: As we arrived at Medina, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Muṣʿab came to look us over, riding around our army until he had spied out all of it and then turning to leave. We were so frightened by him that ʿĪsā and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah began to exclaim with admiration, "One lone horseman is advance scout for his cohort!" As he got to the limit of our range of vision, we saw him standing in one place. "Blast you, go and find out what's happening with that fellow," said Ḥumayd, "I can see his horse is not moving at all." So Ḥumayd dispatched to Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar two men from his cohort, and they discovered that Ibrāhīm's mount had stumbled and

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952. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 268, gives the name as Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī.
953. *Ana rajulun farrun*. Ibrāhīm's edition VII, 585, reads this as *farra*.
954. A reference to the Battle of the Camel.
955. *Wa-[ʿalā] kaydi al-mulk*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kāda*. See note 424.
956. His great-grandfather Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (d. 146/763) was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who eventually joined al-Manṣūr's entourage in Baghdad and died there. *GAS*, I, 88; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 34–47; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 87.

thrown him to the ground. His armor (*tannūr*)[957] had broken his neck. Ḥumayd's two men took his booty and brought us armor said to belong to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr.[958] It was gilded and unlike any ever seen.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: ʿĪsā made camp at Qaṣr Sulaymān in al-Jurf early on a Saturday morning, 12 Ramaḍān 145[959] and stayed there both Saturday and Sunday. Early Monday morning he went out to take up a [234] position at Salʿ[960] so that he could survey Medina and those who were entering and leaving it. He covered all its approaches with cavalry and troops except the area around the mosque of Abū al-Jarrāḥ[961] at Buṭḥān. This he left open as an exit for those wanting to flee, and Muḥammad showed himself at the head of the people of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: We reached Medina together with ʿĪsā. He summoned Muḥammad [to desist and accept the guarantee of safety] three times, on Friday, on Saturday, and on Sunday.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Mismaʿ: After ʿĪsā had set up camp, he made a mounted advance, with something like 500 foot soldiers surrounding him as they marched. Before him moved a banner that he carried on the march. ʿĪsā halted at al-Thaniyyah and cried out, "O people of Medina, God has forbidden us to shed each other's blood. Come and take the guarantee of safety! Whoever takes his stand under our banner is safe, as is whoever goes into his house, enters the

957. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *tannūr*. The term ordinarily connotes a baking oven, especially one for bread.

958. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, son of the Prophet's cousin and early supporter, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, and brother of the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, was renowned as a warrior and especially remembered for his heroic stand against the Syrian troops of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 71/690. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens), Ṭabarī, II, 803–14; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, V, 332–355; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, V, 240–42, 247–49.

959. December 4, 762.

960. Salʿ was a mountain pass near Medina; see the map on p. 1001 of *EI*[2], s.v. al-Madīna ii. The modern city (R. B. Winder) for Djabal Salaʿ [*sic*]. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 236–37.

961. Perhaps the *mawlā* of Umm Ḥabībah, a wife of the Prophet, who transmitted *ḥadīth* from her and from the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 56.

mosque, throws down his weapons, or leaves Medina. Leave us and our opponent to face each other, and [may the victory go] to us or to him." The people of Medina heaped abuse upon him and vilified him, saying such things as, "O son of a sheep, O son of this, O son of that!" That very day ʿĪsā went away and returned next morning. He did what he had done the day before, and once again the people of Medina reviled him. On the third day, he approached with [many] horses, men, and weapons, the like of which I've never seen. Lord knows, we didn't have long to wait before he got the better of us, proclaimed the guarantee of safety, and left for his encampment.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm al-Ghaṭafānī—Abū ʿAmr, teacher of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—al-Zubayrī, i.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid: When we came face to face,
[235] ʿĪsā himself proclaimed, "O Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful has ordered me not to fight you before I extend to you the guarantee of safety. I am bound to offer this to you, your family, your descendants, and your associates. Furthermore, you will be given thus and thus amount of money. Your debt will be discharged, and you will be treated in an appropriate way."[962] Muḥammad shouted back, "Forget this! If you only understood that fear does not make me swerve from you nor does desire draw me near, you would not behave thus." The fighting was relentless, and Muḥammad dismounted to engage in it. I would estimate that he killed seventy men on that day by his own hand.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: On Monday ʿĪsā halted at Dhubāb.[963] Summoning a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah who had accompanied him as head of his armored troops. ʿĪsā said, "Take ten of your cohort, the ones who have protective armor." The man brought them forward, and ʿĪsā said to us, "Ten of you should stay with him, O family of Abū Ṭālib." This we did, and with us were the two sons of Muḥammad

962. More explicit promises are made in Abū Jaʿfar's letter to Muḥammad. See pp. 166–67.

963. Dhubāb was a mountain near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 3; Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 135.

b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī,[964] ʿAbdallāh[965] and ʿUmar, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAqīl, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, who was in command of ten of us. "Hurry to the people," ʿĪsā said, "call upon them to support us, and offer them a guarantee of safety. God's guarantee of safety is enduring." We first went as far as the market of the fuel vendors and made an appeal to them. But they called us names and showered us with arrows, saying, "This is the descendant of God's Messenger who is with us. We, therefore, are with him." Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd spoke to them, say- [236] ing, "I, too, am descended from the Messenger of God. Most of those whom you see are descended from God's Messenger. We call you to the Book of God, to the *sunnah* of His Prophet, to the sparing of your blood, and to a guarantee of safety for you." Again, they began to call us names and to shoot flights of arrows at us. Al-Qāsim told his servant to collect these arrows, which he did. [Al-] Qāsim then took hold of them and went to see ʿĪsā. "What are you waiting for?" he asked ʿĪsā. "Look what they did to us." ʿĪsā therefore sent Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah at the head of 100 men.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ—his brothers, ʿUthmān and Muḥammad, the sons of Saʿīd who were with Muḥammad: Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan and a man from the Abū Ṭālib family who was with him halted at the top of Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ. They called upon Muḥammad to accept the guarantee of safety, but he hurled insults at them, so they retired. At this point, ʿĪsā advanced. He had already assigned the army commanders to their sectors, putting Hazārmard[966] near the baths of Ibn Abī al-Ṣaʿbah, Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn near the house of Ibn Aflaḥ,[967] which was in Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, and Muḥammad b. Abī

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964. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 238, placing his death about 140/757, identifies Muḥammad b. ʿUmar simply as a grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and one of the sayyids of the Banū Hāshim. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 321.

965. His mother was Khadījah bt. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, daughter of the fourth Shīʿī *imām*, and he was known as Dāfin, i.e., "One who Conceals." He died in 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 16.

966. Not ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī (see note 374), who was also known as Hazārmard. For this Persian epithet, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 152.

967. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 143.

al-ʿAbbās at the Banū Salimah gate. The remaining army commanders he assigned to the passageways leading into Medina. ʿĪsā led his close associates to the head of al-Thaniyyah, where they shot arrows and catapulted stones for a while.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar: Muḥammad made the mosque curtains into chain armor for his associates.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim—ʿUmar, an Anṣārī *shaykh*: Muḥammad made mosque covers into quilted armor for his associates. Two men from [the tribe of] Juhaynah came to him, and to one he gave quilted armor, but not to the other. So the one who had the quilted armor fought, but the other one did not join him. During the battle, an arrow struck the one with the armor and killed him. His friend uttered this verse:

O Lord, do not make me like a treacherous one[968]
who sold his remaining days for [a piece of] quilted armor.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Abī ʿAmr:
[237] We were stopped at the Banū Ghifār's trench when a man approached us on horseback, and all that could be seen of him were his two eyes. He called out for a guarantee of safety, which was granted him. He then came right up next to us and said, "Is there anyone with you who could give Muḥammad a message from me?" "Yes," I said, "I could." "Then give him a message from me," he said, uncovering his face. To our surprise it was an old man with dyed hair. He said, "Tell Muḥammad that so-and-so the man of Tamīm speaks to you with a sign to this effect: You and I sat in the shade of the rock on Jabal Juhaynah in the year such-and-such. Wait patiently until nightfall, because the greater part of the army is on your side." Ismāʿīl continued: I came to Muḥammad before morning—that was on Monday, the day when he was killed—and I found in front of him a waterskin of white honey split down the middle. A man was pulling out a handful of honey and dipping it in water. Then he fed it to Muḥammad little by little. Another man wrapped his belly with a turban cloth. At this point I delivered the message to him. "Now you have made your report," he said. I replied, "My two brothers are in your power." "Where they are is good for them," he said.

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968. *Ka-man khān. Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr[969]—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr: Muḥammad's banner was my father's responsibility. I used to carry it on his behalf.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Al-Afṭas Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn was accompanied by a yellow standard with the picture of a serpent on it. Each of Muḥammad's associates from the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was accompanied by a standard. Their war cry was "One and one alone!"[970] which was the Prophet's war cry at the Battle of Ḥunayn.[971]

According to ʿUmar—Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥakam—Jahm b. ʿUthmān, the *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym as well as one of the Banū Bahz: On the day we faced ʿĪsā's associates in battle, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar said to me, "Today we number what the people of Badr did on the day [238] they faced the idolaters." We were a few more than 300.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[972]—his father: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was born in 103 and took part in the war with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm when he was forty-three years old.[973] Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was in charge of ʿĪsā's vanguard, while Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās, son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful, led the right flank. The Khurāsānī Dāwūd b. Karrāz[974] was charged

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969. Ibrāhīm b. Mūṣʿab would be the great-great-grandson of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr al-ʿAwwām (d. 72/691), the governor of al-Baṣrah who is remembered for the severity of his attack against the ʿAlid partisan al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī and his followers. Ṭabarī, II, 718–50; *EI*[1], s.v. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair (H. Lammens); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 140–45.

970. According to the *Glossarium*, s.v. *aḥad*, this expression signifies that "God is one, without partner," i.e., it is the equivalent of the credal formula *inna allāha wāḥidun lā sharīka lahu*.

971. Ḥunayn was the site of a battle in 8/630, mentioned in the Qur'ān 9:25, where the Prophet's forces were initially ambushed but soon regrouped to rout the enemy. *EI*[2], s.v. (H. Lammens and Abd al-Hafez Kamal).

972. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā was the grandson of al-Saffāḥ's designated successor to al-Manṣūr.

973. Ṭabarī, III, 519, mentions his death in the year 167/783–84, and Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 435, notes that he lived to be 65. But see *EI*[2], s.v. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā (D. Sourdel).

974. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX. Dāwūd b. Karrāz served under Abū Muslim in Marw and is mentioned among the Khurāsānī *duʿāt*. Ṭabarī, II, 1968–69; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221.

with the left flank, and al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah was in command of the rear guard.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū al-Qalammas encountered Asad b. al-Marzubān's[975] brother, Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, in the market of the firewood vendors. They laid on with swords, until the swords themselves were broken, and then returned to their respective battle stations. At this point Asad's brother grabbed another sword while Abū al-Qalammas picked up a trivet stone (*uthfiyyah*),[976] placed it on the bow of his saddle, and covered it with his armature. They then returned to each other, and as they drew close, Abū al-Qalammas stood up in his stirrups and hit Asad's brother in the chest with the trivet, knocking him down. Abū al-Qalammas then dismounted and cut off his head.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUmarī: While we were with Muḥammad, a man from Medina, a *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr named al-Qāsim b. Wāʾil, stepped forth and called for a duel. In response, a man came forward against him whose perfection and equipment was unique in my experience. When Ibn Wāʾil saw this man, he took off. We were very affected by that, and, in the grip of that emotion, I heard the sound of a footstep behind me.[977] I wheeled around and was surprised to see Abū al-Qalammas and hear him say, "God curse the prince of fools for
[239] letting someone like that make bold with us. If a man steps out, he may be going out to something beyond his range." He then fought a duel with the opponent and killed him.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ: On that day al-Qāsim b. Wāʾil left the trench and called for a duel. Hazārmard answered the challenge, but when al-Qāsim saw him, he was so awed by the man that he retreated. Abū al-Qalammas then

975. Asad b. al-Marzubān was a Persian army officer who later appears in the incidents of harassment directed against ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in order to convince him to renounce his claim to the caliphate in favor of al-Manṣūr's son. Asad's eventual execution for suspected treason is graphically presented in the events of 151/768–69. Ṭabarī, III, 344, 368. In the late Sāsānid period, the *marzbān* was the military governor of a frontier district. Ṭabarī, I, 1056, and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, 102.

976. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thafā*.

977. *Khashfa rajulin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khashafa* and *ṣāta*.

stepped forward to duel with him and said that he had never used his sword as he did on that day. Then he struck Hazārmard on his shoulder vein and killed him, saying, "Take that blow! I am the son of al-Fārūq!"[978] One of ʿĪsā's comrades retorted, "You have killed a better man than 1000 Fārūqs."

According to ʿUmar—the Kūfan ʿAlī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhā' (the Cobbler)—Masʿūd al-Raḥḥāl: I was witness to Muḥammad's murder in Medina. In fact, I was watching them near the Aḥjār al-Zayt.[979] I was looking down on them from the mountain, i.e., Salʿ, when I noticed one of ʿĪsā's cohort come forward on horseback, armored in such a way that you could see nothing of him but his eyes. He came far enough forward that he left the line of his confederates behind. Then he came to a standstill between the two combat lines and called for a duel. One of Muḥammad's cohort went out to meet him wearing a white full-sleeved gown (*qabā'*)[980] and a white cap. He was on foot, and he conversed with the challenger for a long time. I assumed that he was asking him to dismount so that their positions would be equal. Eventually, I observed the man on horseback bend his leg and dismount. Then the two faced off against each other. Muḥammad's associate struck the challenger a blow on the iron helmet he was wearing, forcing him to sit back on his haunches stunned and motionless. At this point Muḥammad's man pulled off his helment, hit him on his head, and killed him. He then went back and joined his fellow soldiers. Without a moment's loss, another came forth from ʿĪsā's line, just like the first, and the original fellow from Muḥammad's side challenged him to combat and did to him what he had done to his comrade. Once again, he went back to his battle line. A third fellow came forth, and Muḥammad's man challenged him, dueled with him, and killed him. When the third was killed, he turned back to head for his associates but ʿĪsā's men attacked him in waves, throwing spears at him and piercing him. He rushed toward his confederates but never reached them, in- [240]

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978. "Al-Fārūq" was an epithet of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

979. Aḥjār al-Zayt was a site near al-Zawrā', the *sūq* in Medina, where the prayer for rain is performed. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 109, III, 156; Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 143.

980. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 352–62; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 41–42.

stead falling flat on the ground so that ʿĪsā's men killed him short of his goal.

According to ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: When we told ʿĪsā that Muḥammad's supporters were shooting at us, he orderd Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to move forward. Ḥumayd advanced with 100 men carrying arrows and shields, all of them on foot except him. Before long they had marched up to a rampart this side of the trench where certain of Muḥammad's partisans were ensconced. Ḥumayd's men forced them in the open and then came to a halt at the wall. Ḥumayd sent word to ʿĪsā that the wall should be razed. ʿĪsā, therefore, sent for laborers, and they razed it, and Ḥumayd's men got all the way to the trench. Ḥumayd then let ʿĪsā know that they had reached the trench. ʿĪsā sent gates the size of the trench to Ḥumayd so that his troops crossed over on them to the other side. Then they fought a very fierce battle from early morning until late afternoon.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: In the company of his cohort ʿĪsā b. Mūsā moved forward to lay siege to Medina. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his supporters came out to meet him, and for several days they battled each other fiercely. A troop from the Juhaynah tribe called the Banū Shujāʿ stood steadfastly with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh until they were killed. They were, indeed, doughty fighters.

The account returns to that of ʿUmar.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar: ʿĪsā ordered them to throw the camels' saddlebags into the trench. He also ordered the two gates from Saʿd b. Masʿūd's house at al-Thaniyyah thrown over the trench. The cavalry then crossed, and the opposing forces met near the sluice gates of Khashram,[981] where they fought until late afternoon.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b.
[241] Abī Thābit: Muḥammad went out that day, before noon, to the Dār Marwān. There he performed the ritual ablution and anointed himself as if for burial. Only then did he go forth [to battle].

According to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: I drew near to Muḥammad and said to him, "By the life of my fa-

981. *ʿInda mafātiḥi Khashram*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *fataḥa*.

ther, as I judge the situation, you don't hold a chance. None of those with you believes in fighting. Leave immediately to meet up with al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah in Mecca, for he has the greatest part of your partisans with him." "O Abū Jaʿfar," said Muḥammad, "by God, were I to leave, the people of Medina would be killed. I swear that I shall not turn back until I have killed or been killed. But as far as I'm concerned, you may do as you like; go wherever you wish." I went with him as far as Dār Ibn Masʿūd[982] in the camel market. Then I hurried off, making my way toward the oil sellers [section]. Muḥammad went on to al-Thaniyyah, and those who were with him were killed by arrows. When it was time for the afternoon prayer, Muḥammad prayed.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: I saw Muḥammad between the two houses of the Banū Saʿd. He was wearing a clay-dyed robe[983] and mounted on an old packhorse. At his side stood Ibn Khuḍayr, who was begging him to go on to al-Baṣrah or elsewhere. To this Muḥammad kept answering, "By God, you people will not be afflicted with me twice. Go where you wish; you are quite free to do so." "Where is there escape from you?" said Ibn Khuḍayr, but then he left, set fire to the stipends register [i.e. that recording the names of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's partisans], and killed Riyāḥ. Next he met up with Muḥammad in al-Thaniyyah and fought until he was slain.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: Ibn Khuḍayr, a descendant of Muʿṣab b. al-Zubayr, rebelled with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. On the day Muḥammad was killed, Ibn Khuḍayr, seeing the disorder among Muḥammad's partisans and how the sword had exhausted them, asked [242] Muḥammad's permission to enter Medina. Muḥammad gave his consent but without knowing what Ibn Khuḍayr intended. The latter entered the presence of Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī and his brother and slaughtered the two of them. He went back to tell Muḥammad what he had done and then moved forward and fought until, without delay, he was killed.

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982. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd was a Companion of the Prophet and is cited as the source of many exegetical *ḥadīths*. His house stood to the north of the main mosque. *EI*[2], s.v. (J. -C. Vadet); Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 104.

983. *ʿAlayhi jubbatun mumashshaqatun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *mashaqa*.

The account returns to that of ʿUmar.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar—his brother: When Ibn Khuḍayr went back, he killed Riyāḥ and Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn Khuḍayr slit Riyāḥ's throat but without finishing him off. Therefore he began beating Riyāḥ's head against the wall until he died. Riyāḥ's brother, ʿAbbās, a righteous man, was killed with him, and the people held that against Ibn Khuḍayr. The latter then went on to Ibn al-Qasrī, who was imprisoned in the Dār Ibn Hishām. Having been alerted, Ibn al-Qasrī barricaded the two gates of the Dār against him. Ibn Khuḍayr worked hard against the gates, but those in the prison joined forces to block them. Ibn Khuḍayr could not prevail against them, so he returned to Muḥammad and fought in front of him until he was killed.

According to ʿUmar—Miskīn b. Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad: At the prescribed time Muḥammad prayed the afternoon prayer in the mosque of the Banū al-Dīl[984] in al-Thaniyyah. When he had uttered the concluding formula, he asked for something to drink, and Rabīḥah bt. Abī Shākir of the Quraysh tribe gave him a drink. Then she said to him, "If only I could be a ransom for you! Save yourself!" Muḥammad replied, "Then in Medina not a cock would be left to crow." He went on, and when he was in the bed of the watercourse of Salʿ, he dismounted. He hamstrung his mount,[985] and the Banū Shujāʿ hamstrung theirs. Each and every one broke his sword scabbard.

[243] Miskīn: I saw myself, as a lad, gathering something like 300 dirhams' worth of ornaments from them. Muḥammad said to them, "You have given me the oath of allegiance, and I am not moving until I am killed. But whoever wishes to go has my permission to do so." Then Muḥammad turned to Ibn Khuḍayr and asked him whether he had set fire to the stipends register." "Yes,"

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984. Al-Dīl, also al-Du'il, was a clan of the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbdmanāt. Ṭabarī, I, 1440; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 43, II, 234; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 184–85.

985. This was an act of bravery by which the warrior indicated that he was cutting off his only possible means of flight. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib is credited with being the first in Islam to do so and died fighting at the battle of Mu'tah in 8/629. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 534 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 794.

replied Ibn Khuḍayr, "I feared that on the basis of it people would be seized." Muḥammad said, "You did right."

According to ʿUmar—Azhar—my two brothers: On that day we put ʿĪsā's cohort to flight two or three times, without ourselves suffering a reverse. We even heard Yazīd[986] b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar say, "We've routed them, but what a victory it would have been if only he had had [enough] men!"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[987] was one of those who were routed and ran away from Muḥammad that day. Muḥammad sent after him, and he was brought back. Then the young boys started to shout out after him, "Behold the babbling old fart!"[988] Afterwards ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz used to say that the worst thing that ever happened to him was the young boys' taunting.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—a *mawlā* of Hishām b. ʿUmārah b. al-Walīd b. ʿAdī al-Khiyār: We were with Muḥammad, and Hishām b. ʿUmārah came up to him along with me. He said, "I'm not sure those you see won't desert you. If ever I run away or you are killed or I am killed or we are vanquished, I testify that this servant of mine is to be freed in God's sight." Then, by God, I was with Muḥammad when an arrow fell on his shield and split it in two, before sinking into his armor." He turned toward me and said, "Hey there." "Here I am," I replied. "Blast your eyes!" he said; "have you ever seen anything like this, what's your name? Do you care more for yourself or for me?" "For you, of course," I [244]
responded. At this he said, "You are free in God's sight, so get out of here as fast as you can."

According to ʿUmar—Mutawakkil b. Abī al-Faḥwah—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah: We were overlooking the ridge of Salʿ—there were bedouins of the Juhaynah tribe there as well—when a man climbed up to us holding a spear on which he had stuck a man's head with the throat, liver, and entrails still attached. I found it a terrifying sight. See-

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986. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.
987. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh was a great-grandson of the second caliph.
988. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baqqa*, where this translation in offered tentatively as *ecce garrula cum crepitu ventris*. For two proverbial uses of the term *baqqah*, see Ṭabarī, I, 759–60.

ing an evil omen in it, the bedouins shied away, fleeing until they reached level ground. The man climbed to the summit and shouted down the mountain to his associates some gibberish in Persian like *kūhbān*.[989] His confederates climbed up to him, right to the top of Salʿ, where they erected a black flag. Then they swooped down the mountain toward Medina and entered it. Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās, ordered a black veil erected on the minaret of the Messenger of God's mosque. When Muḥammad's confederates saw that, they called out to each other, "Medina has been entered," and they fled. Hearing of the people who had entered Medina from the Salʿ mountain, Muḥammad said, "Every people has a mountain that protects them, while our mountain is only a way for people to come at us!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—someone he trusted: The sons of Abū ʿAmr al-Ghifārī opened a way for the wearers of black via the Banū Ghifār. The ʿAbbāsid forces entered that way, coming up on Muḥammad's partisans from behind.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān: On that day Muḥammad shouted at Ḥumayd b.
[245] Qaḥṭabah, "If you are a cavalryman and are proud of so being above all the people of Khurāsān, then fight a duel with me. I am Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh." "I know very well who you are," responded Ḥumayd; "you are a nobleman and the son of a nobleman; you are a *sharīf* and the son of a *sharīf*.[990] No, by God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, I shall not duel with you while from these throngs but one man still stands before me. When I have dealt with that lot, then I swear that I shall duel with you."

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthmān b. al-Mundhir b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr—a man from the Banū Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd:[991] I was in al-Thaniyyah on the day Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed. With him was Ibn Khuḍayr, to whom Ibn

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989. The Persian means "mountain guards." As an alternative, the *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL, give *kūhiyyān*, which would mean "mountain dwellers."

990. The term *sharīf* is applied to those who claim descent from the Prophet Muḥammad.

991. Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd b. Ḍabbah was a clan of Ḍabbah b. Udd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 89, II, 551; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 203.

Qaḥṭabah began offering the guarantee of safe-conduct, reluctant to see him die. But, dismounting, Ibn Khuḍayr continued to attack people with his sword, while quoting the following lines:

Give him to drink neither sour milk nor sweet,
 if you find him not swift and big-strided.
Full of liveliness,[992] he swallows the hard ground
 like the wolf chases prey that comes near.
Overtaking the tracks as though they turn back,
 and the veil on the sun's disc as it sinks.

He mingled with the people, and someone struck Ibn Khuḍayr a piercing[993] blow on his buttock. He withdrew to his associates, ripped off a piece of cloth to wind around his back, and then returned to the fight. This time someone hit him on the eyesocket brow, pushing the sword into the eye itself. Ibn Khuḍayr sank to the ground, and people rushed at him, slashing his head. When he was killed, Muḥammad got down off his horse and fought standing over his corpse until he himself was killed.

According to ʿUmar—Makhlad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥāḍir b. al-Muhājir al-Bāhilī—al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān, the *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr[994]—his brother (a brother of his had been killed with [246]
Muḥammad): When the Khurāsānīs caught sight of Ibn Khuḍayr, they shouted to each other, "Khuḍayr has come! Khuḍayr has come!" Because of that they took off in all directions.

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah—Māhān b. Bakht, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: Ibn Khuḍayr's head was brought to us, but it contained so many wounds we could not even begin to carry it. It looked like an eggplant that had been ripped apart, but we stuck most of it back together.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: Beholding the black standard on the minaret of the mosque undermined the morale of Muḥammad's partisans. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah came against

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992. *Dhā mayʿatin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *māʿa*.

993. *Fa-ḍarabahu ḍāribun ʿalā ilyatihi fa-khallahā*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

994. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 269, gives this name as al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān.

Muḥammad from the alley of Ashjaʿ[995] and killed him unawares. He then took his head and brought it to ʿĪsā. Along with Muḥammad, Ḥumayd killed many other men.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhāʾ—Masʿūd al-Raḥḥāl: On that day I saw Muḥammad plunging into the fight by himself. Indeed, I was watching him when a man struck him a sword blow just beside his right earlobe. Muḥammad fell to his knees, and they joined forces against him.[996] Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah shouted, "Don't kill him," so they held off, and Ḥumayd himself came and cut off Muḥammad's head.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: On that day Muḥammad fell to his knees, trying to defend himself and saying, "Woe to you! I am descended from your Prophet, yet beset by difficulties and deeply wronged."[997]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—Ibn Abī Thābit—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: Ibn Qaḥṭabah pierced his chest and knocked him down. Then he dismounted, cut off his head, and brought it to ʿĪsā.

[247] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Minqarī: I saw Muḥammad on that day—of all God's creatures he most closely resembled the tales told of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[998]—cutting people sharply with his sword and killing all who drew near him so long as he carried it. By God, indeed, his thrusts continued unabated until a man shot an arrow at him. I believe I actually saw him turn first red then grey. Suddenly the cavalry descended upon us, and Muḥammad came to a standstill at the side of a wall. People held back from him, and as he felt death overcome him, he leaned against his sword and broke it.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his grandfather: Muḥammad carried the sword of God's Messenger, Dhū al-Faqār.[999]

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995. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth were a clan of the Ghaṭafān tribe. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 135, II, 201; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 249–50.

996. *Wa-taʿāwaw/taghāwaw ʿalayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

997. *Muḥrijun wa-maẓlūmun*. Ibid.

998. Ibid. Ḥamzah was the Prophet's uncle whose legendary battle exploits were memorialized in various epic recensions. See note 859.

999. This sword, which Muḥammad obtained as booty in the battle of Badr, became the property of ʿAlī but eventually passed into ʿAbbāsid possession. *EI*²,

According to ʿUmar—Hurmuz Abū ʿAlī, the *mawlā* of the Bāhilah [tribe][1000]—ʿAmr b. al-Mutawakkil, whose mother served Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn: On the day he was killed, Muḥammad carried the Prophet's sword, Dhū al-Faqār. When he sensed death approaching, he gave his sword to a merchant who was with him and to whom he owed a debt in the amount of 400 dīnārs. Muḥammad said to the man, "Take this sword. You will never meet any member of the family of Abū Ṭālib who will not take it and give you your just due." The sword stayed in the merchant's possession until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān[1001] was appointed governor of Medina. Jaʿfar was told about the sword, and, summoning the man, he took the sword from him and give him 400 dīnārs. It stayed with him until al-Mahdī became Caliph where Jaʿfar continued as governor of Medina. News of the sword's whereabouts reached al-Mahdī, and he took it. It then passed to Mūsā,[1002] who tried it out on a dog,[1003] and the sword broke in pieces.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿī:[1004] I saw [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, the Commander of the Faithful, in Ṭūs,[1005] girded with a sword. He said to me, "O Aṣmaʿī, would you not like me to show you Dhū al-Faqār?" "Yes," I said, "may God make me your ransom." He said, "Unsheathe this sword of

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s.v. (E. Mittwoch). For traditions about Dhū al-Faqār, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 51.

1000. A component tribe of Qays whose traditional lands lay along the route between Mecca and Riyāḍ. *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 137, II, 220.

1001. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (d. 174/790). His cousin al-Manṣūr appointed him governor of Medina in 146/763–64 and removed him in 150/767–68; later he was appointed governor of al-Baḥrayn, of Mecca and then of al-Baṣrah. At one point he complained of Abū Jaʿfar's preferential treatment of his brother Muḥammad. Ṭabarī, III, 327, 358, 379, 410, 492, 740; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 24, 40; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 106: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 239–40.

1002. Mūsā, i.e., Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq, son of al-Mahdī, was the fourth ʿAbbāsid caliph and reigned briefly from 169/785 to 170/786. *EI*², s.v. al-Hādī ila ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ (D. Sourdel).

1003. Dogs are considered unclean under Muslim law, and in popular belief have a long-standing association with evil spirits.

1004. Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb (d. 213/828) was a renowned Baṣran grammarian and philologist at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. *EI*², s.v. al-Aṣmaʿī (B. Lewin); Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 965.

1005. Ṭūs was a town and a district in the Naysābūr quarter of Khurāsān. *EI*¹ s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 388–90; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 155.

mine." I did so, and I saw on it eighteen notches like vertebrae (*faqārah*).[1006]

According to 'Umar—Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl—the brother of al-
[248] Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Numayrī: We were with Muḥammad when 40,000 troops encircled us, surrounding us like a tract of black stones. I said to him, "If you were to charge at them, they would scatter before you." "Surely," he said, "the Commander of the Faithful does not charge in such a way. Were he to do so, he would have nothing left." However, we kept repeating that to him, so that finally he launched an attack, but they pressed in upon him and killed him.

According to 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Salm, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb, successor to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' as chamberlain for Hārūn [al-Rashīd], a cultured and learned person—his father—al-Aslamī, i.e., 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir: Muḥammad said to me when we were fighting 'Īsā with him, "A rain cloud is enveloping us; if it showers us, we will be victorious. If it passes over us to 'Īsā's forces, then look for my blood on the oil stones." Before long, by God, a cloud was right on top of us. As it began to shift, I exclaimed, "It's doing so!" Then it passed right over us and hit 'Īsā and his confederates. From that point on things were as bad as could be until I saw him lying dead among the oil stones.[1007]

According to 'Umar—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Karrām b. 'Abdallāh:[1008] About the time of the afternoon prayer 'Īsā said to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, "I see that you've been taking your time with this fellow; now put Ḥamzah b. Mālik[1009] in charge of warring against him." "By God! Though you may wish that," said Ḥumayd, "I won't leave you while I'm still fighting men and have scented victory in the offing." He then redoubled his efforts until Muḥammad was slain.

1006. According to some early Muslim traditions, the sword was made of material from Paradise and was passed down among the prophets who preceded Muḥammad. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors," 47.

1007. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 146.

1008. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

1009. Ḥamzah b. Mālik (d. 181/797), the son of Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī, was head of the *shurṭah*, or police guard, for the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He was appointed governor of Sijistān in 159/775–76 and of Khurāsān in 176/792–93. Ṭabarī, III, 459, 626; Crone, *Slaves*, 181.

According to ʿUmar—Jawwād b. Ghālib. b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū ʿIjl—Ḥumayd, the *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās:[1010] On that day ʿĪsā had doubts about Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, who was in charge of the cavalry. He said to him, "O Ḥumayd, I don't see you doing your utmost." "Do you have doubts about me?" retorted Ḥumayd. "By God, when I see [249] Muḥammad I shall give him a death strike with my sword or be killed before I reach him." Ḥumayd then passed Muḥammad when he had already been killed and struck a blow with his sword in order to fulfill his oath.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: Muḥammad was killed after the late afternoon prayer on Monday, 14 Ramaḍān.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—his father: ʿĪsā sent someone to break into the prison, and we were brought before him while the battle between Muḥammad and ʿĪsā was still going on. We stayed where we had been thrown down before him until Muḥammad's head was brought to ʿĪsā. I said to my brother Yūsuf, "He will call upon us to identify him, but we will not do so for him, for we can [pretend to] be afraid that we could be wrong." When the head was brought ʿĪsā said, "Would you recognize Muḥammad?" "Yes," we said. "Take a look," said ʿĪsā; "is this he?" I cut in before Yūsuf, saying, "I see a great deal of blood and wounds but, by God, I cannot be sure that it is he." He released us from the irons, and we stayed with him through the entire night until morning. Eventually, ʿĪsā gave me jurisdiction over the area that lies between Mecca and Medina, a post that I held until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān arrived. At this point Jaʿfar had me brought down to him and placed me under his own jurisdiction.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham—Abū Kaʿb: I was in ʿĪsā's presence at the time when he had Muḥammad killed and his head was placed before him. ʿĪsā turned to his associates and said, "What do you say about this fellow?" Those present slandered Muḥammad, but one of ʿĪsā's army commanders turned to them and said, "You have lied, by God, and spoken falsehoods. It was not for these reasons that we fought him. He set himself in opposition to the Commander of the Faithful and

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1010. The son of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph. See note 394.

sowed dissension among the Muslims, even if he did rigorously keep the fast and pass the night in prayer." At these words those people fell silent.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn al-Bawwāb ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad[1011]—his father—al-Aslamī: Someone reached Abū Jaʿfar
[250] with a report that Muḥammad had fled. But the caliph called him a liar and declared, "We do not put the People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*)[1012] to flight."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd—Abū al-Ḥajjāj the camel driver: I was standing next to Abū Jaʿfar, as he questioned me about Muḥammad's revolt, when news reached him that ʿĪsā had been defeated. He sat up from a reclining position and struck his prayer rug with a stick he was carrying. "That cannot be," he exclaimed. "What would become of the games of our young lads there on the *minbar*s or of the gossiping chatter of the women? I cannot survive this."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—one of his associates: An arrow hit Abū al-Qalammas on the knee, the head becoming embedded. He worked at it but to no avail. Then someone told him to leave it alone until it began to fester, when it would come out. Therefore he let it be. When the enemy forces went looking for him after the rout, he had only gotten as far as the stony tract (al-Ḥarrah), because what hit him in the knee had slowed him down. But he kept working at the arrowhead until he extracted it. He then fell to his knees and emptied his quiver, shooting at them until they sheered off from him. Thus he caught up with his associates and was saved.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Qāsim: After our defeat that day, we were [standing around] in a group that included Abū al-Qalammas. I turned to him because suddenly he was overwhelmed with laughter. "By God," I said, "this is no place for laughter!" But lowering my glance, I saw one of the defeated soldiers whose shirt had been cut

1011. See note 899.

1012. A Qurʾānic phrase that has come to designate the family of the Prophet Muḥammad, whether narrowly conceived as applying only to the ʿAlids or, more broadly, as embracing the Ṭālibids, ʿAbbāsids, and others. *EI*², s.v. (I. Goldziher, C. Van Arendonk, and A. S. Tritton); Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 42–43; Daniel, "Anonymous 'History,'" 427–29.

to shreds, only its collar[1013] remaining. His breast was completely bare and, though he was quite unaware of it, even his genitals were in plain sight. Abū al-Qalammas' guffaws made me start to laugh.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū al-Qalammas stayed hidden in al-Furʿ,[1014] remaining there for some time. Then one of his slaves assaulted him and shattered his skull with a rock. The slave subsequently went to one of Abū Qalammas' concubines and said, "I have killed your master. Come to me now [251] and I'll marry you." "Wait a moment," she said, "and I shall prepare myself for you." So he gave her some time, but she went straight to the authorities and informed on him. The slave was therefore seized and his own skull shattered.

According to ʿUmar—Maḥmūd b. Maʿmar b. Abī al-Shadāʾid [al-Fazārī]—his father: When ʿĪsā's cavalry contingent entered [Medina] via the gorge of the Banū Fazārah[1015] and Muḥammad was killed, one group rushed recklessly against Abū al-Shadāʾid. They killed him and took his head.[1016] His daughter, al-Nāʿimah bt. Abī al-Shadāʾid, cried out, "Alas for the [fine] men!" One of the men in the army asked her, "Who are your menfolk?" "The Banū Fazārah," she said. "By God," he replied, "had I known that, I would not have entered your house. But don't be afraid; I am kin of yours from the Bāhilah tribe." He then gave her a snip from his turban, and she fastened it to her door.

Abū al-Shadāʾid's head was brought to ʿĪsā while Ibn Abī al-Karrām and Muḥammad b. Lūṭ b. al-Mughīrah b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[1017] were with him. They both intoned the formula "We are God's and to Him is our return" and said, "Of the people of Medina there is no one left. This is the head of Abū al-Shadāʾid Fāliḥ b. Maʿmar, a blind man of the Banū Fazārah."

1013. *Jurubbān*, from Persian *girībān* or *girbān*, is defined by Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 403, as the neck opening of a shirt, the part upon which the buttons are sewed. According to Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 181, it was the part of the shirt that covered the buttocks.

1014. Al-Furʿ was a city between Mecca and Medina, at a distance of eight posting stations from the latter. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 73; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 252.

1015. Fazārah was a component tribe of Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 246; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 255–59.

1016. See note 775.

1017. His great-grandfather Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith was the Prophet's cousin.

ʿĪsā commanded a herald to proclaim: "Whoever comes with a head will have his own head struck off."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Zādān—ʿAbdallāh b. Barqā: I saw one of ʿĪsā's army commanders come at the head of a group to ask where Ibn Hurmuz'[1018] abode was. We directed him there, and Ibn Hurmuz came out wearing a thin white shirt.[1019] They had their army commander get down, and they transported Ibn Hurmuz on the commander's nag. Thus they went forth conducting him in procession until they had brought him into ʿĪsā's presence. But ʿĪsā did nothing to alarm him.

According to ʿUmar—Qudāmah b. Muḥammad:[1020] ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Hurmuz and Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān rebelled with Muḥammad. When the fighting came, each of the two girded on
[252] a longbow. We assumed[1021] they wanted to show people that they were quite fit to do so.[1022]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ḥusayn b. Yazīd: Ibn Hurmuz was brought to ʿĪsā after Muḥammad was killed, and ʿĪsā said, "O *shaykh*, shouldn't your good sense have kept you from rebelling with those who rebelled?" Ibn Hurmuz replied, "It was disaster that engulfed the people and engulfed us with them." "Follow a straight course [i.e., watch your step in the future]," said ʿĪsā.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Mālik b. Anas: I would go to see Ibn Hurmuz, and he would command a slave girl to bolt the door and to lower the curtain. Then he would reminisce about the early days of this *ummah*[1023] and weep until his beard was wet. When later he rebelled with Muḥammad, someone said to him, "By God, there's no fight left

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1018. Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Hurmuz al-Aṣamm (d. 148/765) was a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* of Medina known to be cautious in his legal pronouncements but a vigorous opponent of heterodoxy. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 380, recounts how on one occasion Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān kissed Ibn Hurmuz's head in gratitude for the latter's instruction. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 679; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 284.

1019. *ʿAlayhi qamīṣun riyāṭun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *rayṭ*.

1020. Qudāmah b. Muḥammad b. Qudāmah b. Khashram b. Yasār al-Ashjaʿī was a *muḥaddīth* of Medina. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 326–27.

1021. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 599, with *fa-ẓanannā*.

1022. Note *a* in the Leiden text offers the explanation that "they were, of course, educated men who were unaccustomed to carrying bows."

1023. A term that signifies the Muslim community as a religio-political unit.

in you!" "I'm well aware of that," he replied, "yet some ignorant fellow may see me and follow my example."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: When Muḥammad was killed, the sky was rent with a rainstorm unlike anything I've ever seen. ʿĪsā's herald cried out, "No one in the army should spend the night in Medina except Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn and his men. ʿĪsā reached his encampment in al-Jurf and stayed there until morning. Then he sent news of the victory [to Abū Jaʿfar] with al-Qāsim b. Ḥasan b. Zayd and sent Muḥammad's head with Ibn Abī al-Karrām.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Morning found Muḥammad still lying where he had been killed. His sister Zaynab bt. ʿAbdallāh and his daughter Fāṭimah sent word to ʿĪsā, "You killed this man and have no further need of him. With your permission, we shall inter him." ʿĪsā sent word back to them, "As for what you mentioned, cousins, which bears upon what happened to Muḥammad: I did not order it, nor did I know of it, so inter him as two upright women would." They sent[1024] for Muḥammad, and he was brought to them. It is said that the slash in his neck was stuffed with a corresponding amount of cotton. He was buried in al-Baqīʿ [cemetery], his tomb facing the alley of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's house, at the entrance to the main road or thereabouts. ʿĪsā sent some flags, and one was placed on the door of Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, another on al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith's, another on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zuhrī's door, another on ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān's, and yet another on the door of Abū ʿAmr al-Ghifārī's house. His herald proclaimed, "Whoever enters under one of these flags or enters one of these houses is under our protection." The heavens poured down copious rain, but in the morning the people went peacefully about their marketplaces. ʿĪsā began to go back and forth to the mosque from al-Jurf, remaining in Medina for several days. Then he left for Mecca on the morning of 19 Ramaḍān.[1025]

1024. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 600, *fa-baʿathatā*.
1025. Saturday, December 22, 762.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: The day after Muḥammad was killed, ʿĪsā gave permission for his burial but commanded that his associates be gibbeted between Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ and Dār ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Azhar said, "I saw them in two rows. ʿĪsā entrusted Ibn Khuḍayr's stake to the one guarding it, but some people carried it away during the night and buried him before anyone could stop them. The other bodies remained gibbeted for three days. Then the people began to find them noisome, so ʿĪsā ordered them to be thrown on the open area (*mafraj*)[1026] in Salʿ, which was the graveyard of the Jews. They were not left there, however, but were subsequently thrown into a trench at the base of Dhubāb."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his mother, Umm
[254] Ḥusayn bt. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn: I said to my uncle Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad,[1027] "May I be your ransom, what happened to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh?" He said, "Muḥammad was killed near the Bayt Rūmī[1028] in the civil disorder that he instigated. His brother was killed in Iraq by the same father when the hooves of his horse were in water."[1029]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[1030] took part in the uprising with Muḥammad. Although his uncle Jaʿfar forbade him to do so, Ḥamzah remained one of Muḥammad's staunchest supporters. Jaʿfar kept saying to Ḥamzah, "By God, he will be killed," and himself played no active part.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibn Abī al-Karrām: ʿĪsā sent me to Abū Jaʿfar, accompanied by 100 soldiers, with the head of Muḥammad. When we reached a point overlooking al-Najaf, we shouted *Allāhu akbar*. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl[1031] was in Wāsiṭ besieging

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1026. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI; *Glossarium*, s.v. *faraja*; Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 88, 161.

1027. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1028. See Nagel, "Bericht," 261, where the site is thus rendered but with no identification.

1029. See Ṭabarī, III, 314, for the offensive (or defensive) use of water in Ibrāhīm's final battle.

1030. A nephew of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1031. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī al-Muslī (d. 157/773–74), of the Banū Musliyah b. ʿĀmir, was an officer in the ʿAbbāsid revolution who pursued Marwān to Egypt

Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī[1032] at that time, so Abū Jaʿfar asked al-Rabīʿ, "Woe to you, why this shout of *Allāhu akbar?*" "That is Ibn Abī al-Karrām," said al-Rabīʿ, "who has come with the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Allow him to enter along with ten of those who are with him." Al-Rabīʿ therefore gave me permission, and I set the head before the caliph on a shield. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "What members of his family were killed with him?" "No one," I said, "by God, not a man." "God be praised, so this is he?" exclaimed Abū Jaʿfar. He then lifted Muḥammad's head up to al-Rabīʿ and asked, "What did his associate who was here earlier tell us?" Al-Rabīʿ replied, "He suggested that a large number of them were killed." "No," I insisted, "by God, not a one."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought Muḥammad's head while in al-Kūfah, he ordered it to be carried about on a white plate. I saw it when it had become brown and spotted. That evening the caliph had it sent to the outlying provinces.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb of the people of Yanbuʿ: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought the heads of the Banū [255] Shujāʿ he said, "So this is what people come to! I searched for Muḥammad, but these men provided cover for him. They moved him from place to place and accompanied him in these moves. Then they fought with him, remaining steadfast until they were killed."

According to ʿUmar: ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm,[1033] Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah and others quoted to me the poem of

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and, along with Shuʿbah b. Kathīr al-Māzinī, killed him at Būṣīr. He died in Baghdad, and Abū Jaʿfar offered prayers over his corpse. Ṭabarī, III, 46, 49, 380; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 110; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 590; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 262, II, 160.

1032. Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī was a Kūfan *muḥaddith*, *faqīh*, and poet who had earlier supported Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt. He died in hiding about 150/768. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 60; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 309, 314 = *Opkomst*, 282, 287; *GAS*, I, 560; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 6, 7.

1033. Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ (d. 255/869) was the secretary of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, an adopted son of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, who served in several important capacities under his successor, al-Mutawakkil, and was murdered with him. Ṭabarī, III, 1462.

ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[1034] who, elegizing Muḥammad, recited:

You weep for Mudillah,[1035] as they were hunted, lassoed by
ʿĪsā,[1036] who aimed a shrewd hit at ʿUthmān.[1037]
Why not for the Mahdī, and the two sons of Muṣʿab,
did you shed your tears, pouring them out, flowing like rain?
And for Ibrāhīm's loss when there parted from him
the throngs and [alone] he faced his opponents?
But your tears have flowed astray, and you arouse in me
the torments of an emotion evoking sorrows.
By God, midwives have never delivered the like of them,
keenest and loftiest in lineage and status.
First to rise up and first to speak,
rejecting slander from the well-springs of justice.
There, were you to gouge out, without disfigurement,
your eyes from anguish, you'd be publicly excused.
A calamity, by your life, if the like struck
Mayṭān,[1038] Mayṭān would be split open by it.

Ibn Muṣʿab said:

O my two friends, stop scolding and know
that I am not in this more blameworthy than you.
Stop at the son [descendant] of the Prophet's tomb and offer greeting.
There's no harm in stopping and offering greeting
[256] To a tomb that contains the best man of his time
in rank and good temper and generous spirit.

1034. ʿĀʾid al-Kalb ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab (d. 184/800) served various posts under the caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Hādī and was governor of Medina and the Yemen for Hārūn al-Rashīd. His son, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, was a noted genealogist of the Quraysh. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 618–19; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 25; *GAS*, I, 271–72, II, 647–48; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 138.

1035. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI, gives this vocalization although the name has been previously vocalized at III, 185, as Mudallah in a reference to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

1036. I.e., ʿĪsā b. Khuḍayr.

1037. I.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr, the son of Abū Jaʿfar's former governor of Medina.

1038. Taking the reading in note *l* of the Leiden text, which is the name of a mountain in the vicinity of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān* V, 243–44.

A man who refuted with justice the injustice of our land
and wiped out monstrous deeds and gave graciously.
He neither avoided the path's goal nor swerved
from it; he did not open his mouth with vile speech.
Had fortune [good and bad] magnified anything between the
Prophet's time and his, then you would be the one glorified
in him.
Or allowed anyone to enjoy well-being before him,
the goal of it would be that he should be made safe.
They sacrificed in Ibrāhīm the finest victim,
his days were severed as was he.
A hero who by himself plunged into their adversities,
neither wavering, nor trembling,[1039] nor yielding
Until the swords passed into him. Perhaps
the swords were their deaths;[1040] perhaps.
A sacrifice were the Banū Ḥasan. Their sacred things have been
laid bare
among us, their plunder has been scattered.
In their homes their women weep,
cooing like doves when doves trill.
They used killing them to seek favor and see it
as an honor for themselves in the Imām's eyes and as an
advantage.
By God, had the Prophet Muḥammad witnessed,
(God's blessing on the Prophet and peace)
His *ummah* pointing spears at his son [descendant]
until blood drips from their spearheads,
In truth, he would know for sure that they had squandered
this kinship and made lawful what is forbidden.

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan: One night I left our dwellings in Suwayqah[1041]—that was before Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's revolt—when suddenly I saw some women who looked as if they had come from our houses. I was concerned about them, so to see

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1039. *[Lā] riʿahan.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI.
1040. *Kānat ḥutūfahum al-suyūfu.* Ibid.
1041. Suwayqah was an area in Medina where the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib lived. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 286–87.

where they were heading, I followed them as far as the outskirts of al-Ḥumayrāʾ[1042] toward al-Ghars.[1043] One of them then turned [257] to me and said:

Suwayqah, once occupied, is now ruined.
Now in the evening has desolation afflicted it.[1044]

I then realized that they were jinn[1045] so I went back.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: When ʿĪsā b. Mūsā killed Muḥammad he seized all the assets of the Ḥasanids, and Abū Jaʿfar subsequently declared this lawful.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar:[1046] Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad[1047] met Abū Jaʿfar and said, "O Commander of the Faithful give me back my land grant, the spring of Abū Ziyād, so that I may eat from its palm boughs." "How dare you speak in such a manner!" retorted the caliph. "By God, I shall really give you a bad time." Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad replied, "Don't be too hasty with me. I have already reached sixty-three years of age, the age when my father and my grandfather and[1048] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib died. May I thus be held accountable if I have ever caused you a moment's unease or, if I should outlive you, if I do so to the one who comes after you." So Abū Jaʿfar had sympathy for him and forgave him.

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Rāshid: Abū Jaʿfar did not return the spring of Abū Ziyād before his death, but eventually al-Mahdī gave it back to Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad's descendants.

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Ibrāhīm: When Muḥammad was killed, Abū Jaʿfar ordered a sea embargo against the people of Medina. Nothing was transported to them from the area of al-

1042. Al-Ḥumayrāʾ was a date-palm grove near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 306.

1043. Wādī al-Ghars lay between Maʿdin al-Naqrah and Fadak. "Ghars" was also the name of a spring in Medina whose water was blessed by the Prophet. He asked ʿAlī that his corpse be washed with it before burial. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 193.

1044. *Laqad amsat ajadda bihā al-kharābu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *jadda*.

1045. *Sākinī al-arḍ*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium, s.v. sakana*.

1046. On this passage see Nagel, "Bericht," 257–58.

1047. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1048. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 603, offers the alternate reading "and my forefather, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," which would satisfy those traditions that place the death date of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's grandfather ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn well short of the age of sixty-three.

Jār[1049] until al-Mahdī became caliph and lifted the embargo, permitting transport.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm—his mother, Umm Salamah bt. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, the wife of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: The sons of the Makhzūmī woman,[1050] i.e., ʿĪsā,[1051] Sulaymān[1052] and Idrīs,[1053] sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan quarreled with the sons of [258] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan about ʿAbdallāh's legacy, saying, "Your father Muḥammad was killed and ʿAbdallāh had made him his heir."[1054] They took the dispute to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd[1055] who, in turn, wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, Abū Jaʿfar, about the matter. The caliph replied as follows: "When this letter of mine reaches you, make them the heirs of their grandfather. I return their assets to them in recognition of their relationship and to protect their kinship connection."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Among those of the Hāshimites who rebelled with Muḥammad were al-Ḥasan, Yazīd, and Ṣāliḥ, the sons of Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and Ḥusayn and ʿĪsā, the sons of Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1056]

1049. Al-Jār was a town on the Red Sea, some fifty kilometers south of Yanbuʿ, that served as the supply port for Medina. *EI²*, s.v. (A. Dietrich); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 74; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 92–94.

1050. ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣī. The Banū Makhzūm were a prominent clan of Quraysh, some of whose female members became wives of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs. *EI²*, s.v. Makhzūm (M. Hinds); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 433.

1051. One of the several half-brothers of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm; this is his only mention in Ṭabarī. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 396.

1052. Eponymous founder of the Maghribī Sulaymānid dynasty, he died during the revolt of Ṣāḥib Fakhkh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in 169/785–86. Ṭabarī, III, 559; Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, 26; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 433.

1053. Known as al-Aṣghar (d. 175/791), Idrīs escaped the massacre following the defeat of his nephew Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, eventually settled in the area of Tlemcen, and founded the Idrīsid dynasty. Ṭabarī, III, 560–61; *EI²*, s.v. Idrīs I (D. Eustache); Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, 30; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 487–91; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 318–19.

1054. Because there is no right of representation in Sunnī law, Muḥammad's sons would have had no de jure entitlement to their deceased father's inheritance from his father. Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 170.

1055. See note 410.

1056. Zayd b. ʿAlī, son the the fourth *imām*, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and eponymous founder of the Zaydiyyah (d. 121/739 or 122/740), staged an armed rebellion in al-Kūfah during the caliphate of Hishām b. Yazīd. While acknowledging the opin-

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: I heard that Abū Jaʿfar used to say, "Whoever would have believed that the sons of Zayd b. ʿAlī would join the uprising when we had killed their father's killer just as he killed Zayd b. ʿAlī, gibbeted him just as he did and consigned him to fire just as he consigned Zayd b. ʿAlī." Other rebels were Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAlī and Zayd, the sons of Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar said to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, "It's as if I could see your two sons standing beside Muḥammad with two swords, each wearing a long-sleeved tunic." "O Commander of the Faithful," replied al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, "I have bemoaned their unruliness to you before today." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Certainly, and this is what comes from that." Other rebels were al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Murajjā ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.[1057]

According to ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar said to Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq, "Who is this al-Murajjā? God do such and such to him!" Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq said, "O
[259] Commander of the Faithful, that one is my son. By God, if you want me to sever relations with him, I shall certainly do so." Among those of the Banū ʿAbd Shams[1058] who rebelled was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams.

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl—ʿAbbād b. Kathīr:[1059] Ibn ʿAjlān[1060] joined Muḥammad's rebellion on a mule. When Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān was appointed governor of Medina, he put Ibn ʿAjlān in chains. I went to see Jaʿfar and asked, "How do you suppose the people of al-Baṣrah feel about the man who put al-Ḥasan[1061] in chains?" "By God, badly," he said.

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ions of other historians, Ṭabarī, II, 1667–89, 1698–1716, places the events of his death in the year 121/738–39. *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. ʿAlī (R. Strothmann); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 127–51.

1057. A descendant of the Prophet's cousin Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

1058. ʿAbd Shams was a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 8, II, 131; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 45, 58 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 68, 87.

1059. ʿAbbād b. Kathīr al-Thaqafī was a Meccan *muḥaddith* (although born in al-Baṣrah) who died about 170/786–87. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 613; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 106; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 87–89.

1060. ʿAbū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān. See note 926.

1061. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), who has been dubbed "the patriarch of Muslim mysticism" (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 30), was greatly admired

"Well," I replied, "Ibn ʿAjlān's situation here is like al-Ḥasan's there." Therefore Jaʿfar let Ibn ʿAjlān go. Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān was the *mawlā* of Fāṭimah bt. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh: ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿĀṣim[1062] took part in Muḥammad's uprising. After Muḥammad was killed, ʿUbaydallāh was brought before Abū Jaʿfar, and the caliph said to him, "You are one of those who joined Muḥammad's rebellion against me." "I had no choice," replied ʿUbaydallāh, "but that or disbelief (*kufr*) in what God sent down upon [our Prophet] Muḥammad." (ʿUmar regarded this tradition as conjectural.)

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Salamah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar: ʿUbaydallāh had responded to Muḥammad's call to join his uprising but then died before he could do so. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy rebelled with Muḥammad. Other partisans were ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn,[1063] the *mawlā* [260] of al-Azd, ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrimah, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Yaʿqūb,[1064] the *mawlā* of the Banū Sibāʿ[1065] (Ibn Sibāʿ of Khuzāʿah was ally to the Banū Zuhrah), his sons Ibrāhīm and Isḥāq as well as Rabīʿah, Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh, ʿAṭāʾ, Yaʿqūb, ʿUthmān, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, [also] the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr—al-Zubayr b. Khubayb b. Thābit b.

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for his ascetic piety and his rhetorical skill. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 587, reports that all of al-Baṣrah prayed at his funeral. *EI²*, s.v. (H. Ritter).

1062. Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar (d. 147/764), a descendant of the third caliph, was a noted *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* of Medina. *GAS*, I, 89; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 35; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313 = *Opkomst*, 286; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 195.

1063. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was a trustworthy *muḥaddith* of Medina. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 388, his devotion to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan aroused Abū Jaʿfar's suspicions. This prompted ʿAbd al-Wāḥid to go into hiding with Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah (who is mentioned as transmitting on his authority), where he died unexpectedly. Ṭabarī, III, 2456.

1064. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ, a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*, went into hiding after Muḥammad's uprising but was eventually put to death during Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān's tenure as governor of Medina. Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313 = *Opkomst*, 286.

1065. Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā was a clan of the Banū al-Ḥārithah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 200, II, 512.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr: I was in al-Murr in Baṭn Iḍam[1066] accompanied by my wife, Amīnah bt. Khuḍayr, when a man passed us ascending from Medina. She asked him, "How's Muḥammad doing?" "He's been killed," the man replied. She then asked, "How's Ibn Khuḍayr doing?" "He, too, has been killed," he answered. At this news she fell to the ground in prostration. When I asked whether she was prostrating herself because her brother was killed, she said, "Yes; why was he not put to flight or captured?"

According to ʿĪsā—his father: Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "Who came to Muḥammad's assistance?" "The family of al-Zubayr," said ʿĪsā. When the caliph asked, "Who else?" ʿĪsā named ʿUmar's family. At this the caliph exclaimed, "By God, it certainly is for something other than his friendship for them or [their] love for him or his family!" Abū Jaʿfar used to say, "Were I to find 1,000 from al-Zubayr's family, all of them good except for one evildoer, I would kill the whole lot. But if I were to find 1,000 of ʿUmar's family, all of them evil except for one good man, I would forgive the whole lot."

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr: When Muḥammad was killed, my father fled, as did
[261] Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.[1067] Abū Habbār al-Muzanī and I were with them. We first came to Mecca and then descended to al-Baṣrah, where we hired [mounts] from a man named Ḥakīm. Arriving at al-Baṣrah after the night was well advanced, we found the entrances closed off and sat nearby until daybreak. Then we entered and dismounted at the Mirbad.[1068] In the early morning hours we sent Ḥakīm to buy food for us. He had it brought by a black man wearing a leg iron.[1069] When the man carried the food in to us, Ḥakīm paid him his wage, but the black became angry

1066. Al-Murr is identified as a *wādī* in Baṭn Iḍam or as Baṭn Iḍam itself. "Iḍam" was the name of a *wādī* belonging to the Ashjaʿ and Juhaynah tribes and the name of a mountain between al-Yamāmah and Ḍariyyah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 214, V, 106.

1067. See note 411.

1068. The Mirbad was a vast open area where caravans stopped and camels and other animals were traded. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 97–99; *EI²*, s.v. (C. Pellat); Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 11–12.

1069. The account in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 392, offers some variation: The black bearer is described as an insignificant porter, but there is no specific mention of leg irons. When asked his wage, he first set it at four *dawāniq*, which would have

with us. We told Ḥakīm to increase the amount, but the fellow was still angry. At this point, we said to Ḥakīm, "Woe to you, double the amount for him." Ḥakīm refused, beginning to have some misgivings about us. He started to take a close look at our faces and then left. Before long cavalry surrounded our house. We asked the landlady why they had come, but she said, "Don't be concerned about them. They are looking for one of the Banū Sa'd[1070] named Numaylah b. Murrah[1071] who joined Ibrāhīm's rebellion." And, indeed, we only became concerned when the black man was brought into our presence with his head and face covered. When he was brought in the covering was removed, and he was asked, "Are these the ones?" "Yes," he said, "these are the ones. This one is Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh, this other is 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad, and this third is 'Uthmān's son. The fourth I recognize only as one of their associates." Together we were seized and brought before Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.[1072] Looking at us, he approached Mūsā and said, "May God not keep your line intact! Why have all of you left your land and come to me? If I release you, I will be opposing the Commander of the Faithful. Yet if I seize you, I am severing your lineage." Muḥammad b. Sulaymān then wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, while we were placed in irons.[1073] The caliph responded that we be transported to him. Accordingly, we were dispatched to him in the company of an army contingent. Upon arrival in al- Baṭīḥah,[1074] we found

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been about two-thirds of a dirham. Although this amount was then paid to him, he remained unsatisfied, so that his recompense was subsequently increased more than fourfold. Contented with this amount, he then left.

1070. The Banū Sa'd al-Fizr was a large component group of Tamīm. *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd al-Fizr (F. Krenkow); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, 75, II, 497.

1071. When Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh took control of al-Baṣrah, he made Numaylah b. Murrah al-'Abshamī his administrator there. Ṭabarī, III, 301; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 281; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 215–16.

1072. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was a cousin of Abū al-'Abbās and Abū Ja'far. He followed his father as governor of al-Baṣrah and held that position at the time of his death in 173/789–90, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He also governed al-Kūfah for a time. Ṭabarī, III, 607–8; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 121–23; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40, 43.

1073. *Wa-ḥaddadnā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadda*; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 606, offers the alternative reading *bi-khabarinā*, "with news of us."

1074. Al-Baṭīḥah is the marsh area created by the lower Tigris and Euphrates between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and Saleh El-Ali); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 27; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 450–51.

another contingent awaiting us. We came by one army post to another all the way to Baghdad. Once there, we were brought before
[262] Abū Jaʿfar. Looking at my father, he said, "Now then, did you join Muḥammad's rebellion against me?" "That is so," my father replied. Abū Jaʿfar shouted coarse remarks at him and kept at him for a long time. Finally, he ordered him to be beheaded. He next commanded Mūsā to be beaten with scourges and ordered that I be brought to him, saying, "Have them bring him in and make him stand right next to his father. While he is looking at him, behead him over his father's cadaver." ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī spoke to the caliph, saying, "By God, I would not judge he has yet reached manhood." I added, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am but a lad, a gullible youth, simply obeying my father's command." Abū Jaʿfar therefore ordered me to be given fifty lashes and had me confined in the Muṭbaq.[1075] One of the inmates at that time was Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd,[1076] who was extremely kind to me and of whom I grew very fond. He even fed me from his food and let me drink from what he had. Such was our situation until Abū Jaʿfar died and al-Mahdī assumed the caliphate. At that point he released Yaʿqūb, who spoke with al-Mahdī on my behalf, so that the caliph let me go [too].

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Khālid—Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah: I was with Abū Jaʿfar when someone came and told him that ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid had just been brought in.[1077] When the caliph had him brought in and Abū Jaʿfar saw him, he said, "Where's the money you had?" "I handed it over to the Commander of the Faithful, may God have mercy upon him," ʿUthmān replied. "And who," asked the caliph, "is the Commander of the Faithful?" "Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh," he said. The caliph asked, "Did you give him the oath of allegiance?" "Yes," answered ʿUthmān, "just as you did." Abū Jaʿfar retorted, "O son

1075. The Muṭbaq was a fortress-like prison that al-Manṣūr built in the southwest quadrant of Baghdad. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27, and Lassner, *Topography*, 243, both of whom vocalize it as *maṭbaq*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭabaqa*, gives the vocalization *muṭbaq*, as does Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 26.

1076. Abū ʿAbdallāh Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd (d. 186/802) became vizier to Abū Jaʿfar's son, the caliph al-Mahdī. He eventually fell from favor for suspected treason and was imprisoned once again. *EI*², s.v. (S. Moscati); Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 155–63.

1077. See note 741.

of an uncircumcised woman!" To this ʿUthmān replied, "That is said of those whom slave women have born."[1078] The caliph then ordered him to be executed so ʿUthmān was dragged away and beheaded.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān [b. Muḥammad] b. Khālid al-Zubayrī: At the time Muḥammad made his uprising one of those who joined him was a man from the family of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt.[1079] When Muḥammad was killed and his partisans were routed and went into hiding, my father and the Kathīrī disappeared with them. They remained hidden until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān was made governor of Medina and intensified the search for Muḥammad's associates. [263] At this point my father hired camels belonging to the Kathīrī, and we [all] left Medina for al-Baṣrah. Jaʿfar heard about this and wrote to his brother Muḥammad to let him know that we were on our way to al-Baṣrah. He ordered him to keep an eye out for us and to be alert to our situation and our progress. When we arrived, therefore, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān knew of it and knew where we were. He sent men for us, and we were seized and brought before him. My father turned to him and said, "Listen here, go in fear of God in your treatment of this fellow who rented mounts to us. He's a bedouin who knows nothing about us. Wanting to keep body and soul together, he simply rented [mounts] to us. Had he known of our offense, he never would have done so. If you make him vulnerable to Abū Jaʿfar, whose nature you know well, you will be his killer and bear the guilt of his death." Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was silent for a long time and then he said, "He, by God, is Abū Jaʿfar; I will not oppose him." We were then transported all together and taken before Abū Jaʿfar. No one in the caliph's entourage recognized the Kathīrī except al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. He went up to him and said, "O enemy of God, are you in the habit of renting [mounts] to the Commander of the Faithful's enemy and conveying him from one country to another? Do you sometimes hide him away and at other times let him show

1078. *Dhāka man qāmat ʿanhu al-imāʾu.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāma.* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* V, 553, glosses this as a reference to al-Manṣūr himself; see also note 817.

1079. Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt was a clan of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab,* I, 239, II, 370.

himself?" "O Commander of the Faithful," the Kathīrī replied, "I know nothing about him, his crime, or his enmity toward you. I simply hired [mounts] out to him, knowing nothing about him and thinking him merely a Muslim of innocent intention and sound purpose.[1080] Had I been aware of his case, I would not have done so." Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd bent down to look at the ground and did not raise his head, while Abū Jaʿfar threatened the Kathīrī and tried to intimidate him. Finally, he ordered him to be released, and the man went off into hiding. The caliph then turned to my father and said, "Now then, ʿUthmān, so you rebel against the
[264] Commander of the Faithful and help to oppose him?" ʿUthmān replied, "I gave the oath of allegiance to a man in Mecca just as you did. I lived up to my oath while you betrayed yours." The caliph ordered him to be beheaded.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was brought before Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph looked at him, and said, "If I kill a Qurashī like this, whom shall I spare?" Then he released him. Subsequently, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid was brought before him. He had him killed, while yet releasing a number of Qurashīs. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, how unlucky this one was with you among all the rest!" "Indeed," replied the caliph, "this one comes from a noble family."[1081]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ḥasan b. Zayd: I went to see Abū Jaʿfar one morning and discovered that he had ordered a bench to be made on which he then took up his position, without moving. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab was brought before him, and he commanded that ʿAlī be given 500 lashes. Next, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ[1082] was brought forward,

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1080. This follows Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 608, with the transcription of *barī'*.

1081. *Inna hādhā baytiyyun*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *bāta* as *nobili familia ortus est*, and Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 132. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 608, offers the alternative *hādhā yadī*, "this is my power," i.e., "this is what lies within my discretion."

1082. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm was a grandson of Abdallāh b. Muṭīʿ b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawī, who led the Qurashī opposition against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and fought in the battle of the Ḥarrah. He later became ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's governor of al-Kūfah and perished with the anticaliph in 73/692. Ṭabarī, II, 413, 601–37 *passim*; *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zettersteen and C. Pellat); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 620–21.

and the caliph ordered him to be flogged 500 lashes. Neither of them made the slightest move, prompting Abū Jaʿfar to say to me, "Have you ever seen anyone with more endurance than these two? By God, those who've lived rough and toilsome lives have been brought before us, but they have not shown this sort of endurance. These men, on the other hand, are used to a life of ease, shelter, and comfort." "O Commander of the Faithful," I replied, "these are your people, people of nobility and rank." He turned away from me, saying, "All you care about is [tribal] solidarity." After that he had ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm brought back for a beating. "O Commander of the Faithful," implored ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, "God, God be with us. Lord knows I've been flat on my face for forty nights, not once able to pray to God." The caliph replied, "This is something which you've brought upon yourselves." "But [265]
where is forgiveness, O Commander of the Faithful?" begged ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. To this Abū Jaʿfar responded, "All right, you're forgiven." Then he released him.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: ʿĪsā's forces outnumbered Muḥammad's and fought relentlessly until Muḥammad was finally killed in the middle of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. His head was carried to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who called for Ibn Abī al-Karrām and had him look at it. He recognized it as Muḥammad, so ʿĪsā b. Mūsā made a prostration, entered Medina, and gave all the people amnesty. From the time of his uprising until the time he was killed, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh held out for two months and seventeen days.

In this year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā appointed Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn as his deputy when he left Medina after Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed. Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn's term as governor of Medina lasted one month. Then ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī arrived as governor of Medina on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.

In this year the blacks in Medina rebelled against ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿ and he fled from them.

The Uprising of the Blacks in Medina in This Year and What Incited It

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān had installed Abū Bakr b.

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah as tax collector over Asad and Ṭayyiʾ.[1083] When Muḥammad rebelled, Abū Bakr took what he had collected to Muḥammad and threw in his lot with him. When ʿĪsā made
[266] Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn his deputy in Medina, the latter seized Abū Bakr, beat him with seventy lashes, bound him in irons, and imprisoned him. Then ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ arrived as governor on Saturday, 25 Shawwāl 145, on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar. His troops got into a dispute with the merchants about some of the purchases that they made from them. Eventually a group of merchants went off to the Dār Marwān, where Ibn al-Rabīʿ was staying, and complained to him about the situation. But Ibn al-Rabīʿ yelled at them and called them names. At this, the army began to act against the merchants with even greater avidity, and both sides grew increasingly hostile to each other.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: The troops made off with various goods from the market. One morning they came upon a money changer named ʿUthmān b. Zayd and tried to wrest his purse away from him. ʿUthmān yelled for help, thus saving his money from them. At this juncture the leading citizens of Medina met and complained to Ibn al-Rabīʿ about the matter. Ibn al-Rabīʿ, however, did nothing to either condemn or bring about a change in the troops' behavior. On Friday a soldier came to buy meat from a butcher but refused to pay his price, drawing his sword against him instead. From under the butcher's block the butcher came at him with a big knife and stabbed the soldier in the hip. The man tumbled from his mount, and all the butchers fell upon him and killed him. The blacks issued a call against the army as they went to the Friday prayer (*jumʿah*), killing the soldiers with clubs on all sides. They kept at this until well into evening, and the next morning Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks sounded a trumpet they had. People from high and low in Medina told me that they saw black men living there stop whatever work they were doing and listen to the trumpet

1083. Asad b. Khuzaymah and Ṭayyiʾ b. Udad were North Arabian tribes whose histories include both mutual alliances and warfare. *EI*², s.v. Asad (W. Caskel); *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭaiy (H. H. Bräu); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab* I, 3, 50, 176, 249, II, 194, 555; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 190–2, 398–99.

blast, cocking their ears to it until they were quite certain of the sound. Then the black would drop whatever he held and follow the sound until he reached it. ʿUmar continued: That was Friday, [267]
22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145. There were three individuals who led the blacks, Wathīq,[1084] Yaʿqul, and Ramaqah. During the morning they broke in upon Ibn al-Rabīʿ and the people during the Friday prayer. The blacks hurried the people out from the prescribed prayer, and Ibn al-Rabīʿ went out against them. They chased after him as far as the market, where he passed five people who were begging on the road to the mosque. In company with those who were with him, Ibn al-Rabīʿ attacked and killed them. Then he passed some small boys on a house ledge and, supposing that the people [he sought] were among them, he told them to come down, tricking them with guarantees of safety. But when they actually descended, he had them beheaded. He continued on and stopped near the wheat dealers. There the blacks attacked him [again], so he took off in flight. They followed him as far as the Baqīʿ cemetery, where they overtook him. At this point he scattered dirhams before the blacks, thereby distracting them, and kept going straight ahead until he encamped in Baṭn Nakhl some two nights out of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: The blacks rebelled against Ibn al-Rabīʿ. Their leaders were Wathīq, Ḥadyā, ʿUnqūd, and Abū Qays. Ibn al-Rabīʿ fought them, but they routed him, so he left [Medina] and went to stay in Baṭn Nakhl.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: When Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled, the blacks pounced upon various food supplies belonging to Abū Jaʿfar, such as barley mush, flour, oil, and hard dates, and confiscated them. The load of flour was worth two dirhams, whereas the skin of oil was worth four dirhams.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks raided both the Dār Marwān and the Dār Yazīd, two places contining food supplies that had been brought to the army by sea, and left nothing in either location. On that day, Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān left to go to Abū Jaʿfar. As soon as he reached him, he informed Abū Jaʿfar of the situation.

1084. Wathīq is earlier identified, III, 219, as the trumpet blower in al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah's attack on Abū Jaʿfar's governor of Mecca, al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh.

[268] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Since the blacks killed a number of the troops, the army was so intimidated by them that if a cavalry man encountered a black man wearing nothing but a light shirt and two rags over his private parts, the black would scornfully turn his back on him but would then waste no time in bashing him with one of the market poles and killing him. They said that these blacks were nothing but sorcerers or satans.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthāmah b. ʿAmr al-Sahmī—al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik:[1085] When Ibn al-Rabīʿ imprisoned Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabrah for bringing the taxes (*jibāyah*) from Ṭayyiʾ and Asad and handing them over to Muḥammad, the Qurashīs felt sympathy for Ibn Abī Sabrah. When the blacks rebelled against Ibn al-Rabīʿ, Ibn Abī Sabrah left the prison, addressed the people, and called upon them to remain loyal. He acted as prayer leader for the people until Ibn al-Rabīʿ returned.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn Abī Sabrah left the prison and went on to the mosque still wearing irons. He sent for Muḥammad b. ʿImrān,[1086] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[1087] and others. These men came and met with him, and he said, "I swear this is a catastrophe that has befallen. If it runs its full course against us, in the Commander of the Faithful's eyes, especially after the first action [i.e., Muḥammad's rebellion], it will lead to the destruction of the land and its people. The slaves are all in the market. So, for God's sake, won't you go and talk them into returning and coming around to your point of view? They have no proper discipline and have pressed no claim to authority. They're simply a group motivated by passion." They did go to the slaves and spoke with them. At which the latter said, "Welcome, masters of ours. We attacked only out of resentment at what's been done to you. Our hands join yours, and our affair is at your disposal." They then went forward to the mosque with them.

1085. Al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Yarbūʿī; he also transmits from ʿUthāmah (ʿImāmah) b. al-Sahmī in I, 1313.

1086. Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. See note 584.

1087. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī. See note 512.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab:[1088] When the blacks made their uprising and Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled, I went to see them, accompanied by certain others, at their encampment in the market. We asked them to disperse, informing them that neither we nor they had any power over what they had set themselves against. Wathīq said to us, "The situation has developed as you see, and he will spare neither us nor you. Let us take revenge for you, and we ourselves shall be avenged, too." We refused, however, and stayed with them until they dispersed. [269]

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: Their leader was Wathīq, and his deputy was Yaʿqul the butcher. Ibn ʿImrān went to see him and asked, "With whom will you negotiate terms, Wathīq?" "With four of the Banū Hāshim," replied Wathīq, "with four Qurashīs, with four of the Anṣār, and with four of the *mawlās*. The matter shall be arranged by consultation among them." "I ask God to sustain us with your justice, if He entrusts you with anything to do with us." To this he replied, "Already, by God, has God charged me with it."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks were there at the mosque along with Ibn Abī Sabrah. Still in an iron fetter he climbed up the *minbar* to settle himself on the seat of God's Messenger. Muḥammad b. ʿImrān followed, taking a position below him. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz followed them, taking a yet lower seat, while Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah followed all of the above and sat at the lowest level of all. The people began to raise a great clamor while Ibn Abī Sabrah remained sitting in silence. Ibn ʿImrān announced that he was going off to the market and climbed down the *minbar*, as did those sitting beneath him. Ibn Abī Sabrah remained unmoving, however, and began to speak, urging the people to obey the Commander of the Faithful and recounting the affair of

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1088. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab b. Ruzayq (d. 199/814–15). Ṭabarī later identifies him as one of the Khurāsānī leaders. His father fought against the Umayyads under Abū Muslim's general, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, while his son Ṭāhir became the eponymous founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in Khurāsān. In 191/806–7 he aroused the ire of Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor in Khurāsān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, for drunken remarks that he made against him. Ṭabarī, III, 714–25, 771; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 394–99; *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭāhir b. al-Husain (W. Barthold); Crone, *Slaves*, 75, 78, 258 n. 10; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 174, 179, 181–82.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh at length. In the meantime, Ibn ʿImrān went on as far as the market. There he stood on a sack of wheat and started to talk from that position. Little by little the people came back, and no one led the people in prayer that day except
[270] the muezzin. When it was time for the final night prayer, the people had at last returned, and the Qurashīs had gathered in the reserved section of the mosque. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, the muezzin whose nickname was Kasākas,[1089] recited the prelude to the prayer (*iqāmah*). He asked the Qurashīs, "Who will lead the prayer for you?" but no one answered him. "Didn't you hear me?" he repeated, but again they did not answer. Next he called out, "O Ibn ʿImrān and O Ibn So-and-So [what about you?]," but no one responded. At this point al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[1090] stood up[1091] and said, "I will lead the prayer." He then stood in the proper place and told the people to take their positions. When the prayer rows were properly arranged, he turned to face them and shouted at the top of his voice, "Will you not listen? I am al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān and I shall lead the people in prayer in full loyalty to Abū Jaʿfar." He repeated that declaration two or three times and called out *Allāhu akbar* and performed the prayer. When the people awoke next morning, Ibn Abī Sabrah said, "Yesterday, as on your part you well know, you plundered what was in your governor's house as well as provisions intended for the Commander of the Faithful's troops. Nothing should be retained and not returned by any of you. I have therefore set al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mughīrah b. Mawhab to deal with you." To him the people returned what they had plundered, and it is said to have reached a value of 1,000 dīnārs.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthāmah b. ʿAmr—al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik: The Qurashīs plotted to prevail upon Ibn al-Rabīʿ to leave. After that they would talk to him about making Ibn Abī Sabrah his deputy over Medina so that what the Commander of

1089. More probably Persian "Kashākash." See the Leiden text, note *a*, and Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 613.

1090. Al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān was the great-great-grandson of the fourth Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and grand-nephew of the eighth, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. His grandmother was Umm ʿĀṣim bt. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XXII, 506–10 s.v. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

1091. The second *fa-qāma* is a typographical error.

the Faithful had against him would eventually dissolve. When the blacks drove Ibn al-Rabīʿ out, Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said to him, "Are you leaving without the installation of a deputy governor? Put somebody or other in charge of Medina." "Who?" asked Ibn al-Rabīʿ. "Qudāmah b. Mūsā," Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz replied. At this point they shouted for Qudāmah, and he came in and sat down between Ibn al-Rabīʿ and Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. "Go back, Qudāmah," said Ibn al-Rabīʿ, "I have appointed you governor of Medina and its administrative districts." To this Qudāmah responded, "By God, whoever suggested this to you did not have your best interests at heart. He has not looked at the one who is behind it and [271] has in mind nothing but evil. The one who has a greater claim to this office than I or my nominator is the one who can manage the affairs of the people. He, i.e., Ibn Abī Sabrah, is sitting in his house. Go back, man! By God, you have no excuse to leave!" Ibn al-Rabīʿ therefore went back.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz rode out to Ibn al-Rabīʿ with a group of Quraysh and implored him while he was at Baṭn Nakhl to return to his post as governor. Ibn al-Rabīʿ, however, turned them down. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz then spoke to him in private and kept at him until finally he came back, and the people became peaceful and calm.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: Ibn ʿImrān and others rode out to Ibn al-Rabīʿ, who had stopped at al-Aʿwaṣ. They spoke with him, and Ibn al-Rabīʿ came back and suppressed Wathīq, Abū al-Nār, Yaʿqul, and Masʿur.[1092]

In this year the city of Baghdad, which is called "The City of al-Manṣūr," was founded.[1093]

The Reason Abū Jaʿfar Built Baghdad

The reason for that is as follows: Tradition has it that at the time when the caliphate devolved upon Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, he built al-Hāshimiyyah opposite Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah.[1094] Between the

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1092. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 614, vocalizes this as Misʿar.

1093. Additional sources: Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 449; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 100; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 194; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 557–60; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 161–64; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 96–103; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 417–20.

1094. Although the Leiden index equates this with Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, Lassner (*EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra) argues that the former was founded somewhat earlier, on a site closer to al-Kūfah. See note 638.

two was the whole extent of the road. Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah, opposite which stood Abū Jaʿfar's al-Hāshimiyyah, lay toward al-Kūfah. Al-Manṣūr also built a city behind al-Kūfah by the name of al-Ruṣāfah.[1095] When the Rāwandiyyah[1096] were stirred up by [their beliefs about] Abū Jaʿfar in his city called al-Hāshimiyyah—the one that lies opposite Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah—the caliph began to dislike living there. His dislike was due to the disturbance that various of the Rāwandiyyah set in motion against him as well as to the city's close proximity to al-Kūfah.
[272] Abū Jaʿfar had no confidence in the loyalty of its inhabitants and wanted to distance himself from them. He is said to have gone out personally, exploring for a site that he could use as a settlement for himself and for his army, and where he could build a city. He began by going down to Jarjarāyā.[1097] From there he went to Baghdad and then on to al-Mawṣil. Finally, he went back to Baghdad and said, "This is a good place for an army camp. Here's the Tigris, with nothing between us and China, and on it arrives all that the sea can bring, as well as provisions from the Jazīrah, Armenia and surrounding areas. Further, there is the Euphrates on which can arrive everything from Syria, al-Raqqah, and surrounding areas. The caliph therefore dismounted and pitched his camp on the Ṣarāt Canal.[1098] He sketched a plan of the city and put an army commander in charge of each quarter.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father[1099]—Sulaymān b. Mujālid:[1100] The people of al-Kūfah fomented rebellion against him in the the Commander of

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1095. The name was used for a number of sites from Andalusia to Khurāsān, of which Ṭabarī mentions, in addition to this one in al-Kūfah, those in Baghdad, in al-Baṭā'iḥ, and in al-Ruṣafah of Hishām in Syria. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 46–50.

1096. The account of this uprising may be found under the year 141.

1097. Jarjarāyā was a town on the east bank of the Tigris about seventy-five kilometers southeast of al-Madā'in. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 28; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37, and *Baghdad*, 9; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 123.

1098. The Ṣarāt Canal was a branch of the great ʿĪsā Canal that flowed eastward through the upper Karkh section of Baghdad, while the ʿĪsā itself flowed through the lower part of this section. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50–54; Lassner, *Topography*, 122; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 399–400.

1099. Abū Salamah Maʿrūf b. Suwayd al-Judhāmī was an Egyptian traditionist who died about 150/767. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 208.

1100. Sulaymān b. Mujālid is later, III, 273, 429, mentioned among various of al-Manṣūr's commanders and personal retinue.

the Faithful's, i.e., al-Manṣūr's, army. Therefore he headed for al-Jabal[1101] in search of a place to settle. At that time the road went by way of al-Madā'in. We left via Sābāṭ,[1102] but one of our companions fell behind, afflicted with an eye inflammation. As he stayed there to have his eyes treated, the physician asked him where the Commander of the Faithful was heading. "He is looking for a place to settle," the man replied. To this the physician responded: "In one of our books we find it written that a man named Miqlāṣ[1103] will build a city called al-Zawrā'[1104] between the Tigris and the Ṣarāt. After he has laid its foundation and built one course of its walls, a problem will erupt for him in the Ḥijāz, and he will interrupt construction of the city and turn his attention to repairing that breach of the peace. When this is almost done, trouble will arise for him in al-Baṣrah, this one more difficult for him than the first. Before long, however, the two breaches will be mended, and he will return to building the city and will complete it. Then will he be given a long life and sovereignty shall remain in his progeny."[1105] Sulaymān continued: The Commander of the Faithful was on the outskirts of al-Jibāl searching for a place to settle when my companion reached me and gave me [273]
this account. I reported this to the Commander of the Faithful, and he summoned the man, who repeated the story to Abū Ja'far. At this the caliph turned right around and went back to his start-

1101. Or al-Jibāl. As well as naming a province of Persia (see note 193),"al-Jibāl" was also the name of a town known additionally as "'Ayn al-Gibāl" or "Ḥiyal," in the Jazīrah about 140 kilometers west of al-Mawṣil. *EI*², s.v. al-Djibāl (L. Lockhart); Le Strange, *Lands*, 185–231; Cornu, *Repertoires*, 17; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 99, 103.

1102. Sābāṭ was one of the cities comprising the Sāsānid metropolis that is known in Arabic as "al-Madā'in." It was situated at the point where the Nahr al-Malik met the Tigris. *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in (M. Streck and M. Morony); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 166–67.

1103. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 1295, identifies this word as the term for a camel that is growing fat in the summer, noting also that it was the nickname of a famous thief. It was apparently on the latter account that a childhood prank that involved filching left Abū Ja'far with this nickname. Lassner, *Shaping*, 165.

1104. The word itself means "the crooked," and the name has been the subject of much historical speculation.

1105. Among other prophecies associated with Baghdad is one predicting that no caliph would die a natural death there. Yāqūt, I, *Buldān*, 460, records it as *najidu fī adillati al-nujūmi annahu lā yamūtu bihā khalīfatun abadan ḥatfa anfihi*. See also Eisenstein, "Vom Tode der Kalifen."

ing point, saying, "By God, I'm that very man! I was called Miqlāṣ as a lad but then the name for me fell into disuse."

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—Ibn 'Ayyāsh: Intending to move from al-Hāshimiyyah, Abū Ja'far sent scouts to search out a site for him, a place where he could settle that would be centrally located and comfortable for both the common people and the army. A site near Bārimmā[1106] was described to him, and it was commended to him as having excellent victuals. He went to take a look at it himself and even spent the night there. Searchingly he scanned the site, seeing it to be a good place, and then questioned a group of his associates, including Sulaymān b. Mujālid, Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī,[1107] 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd,[1108] the secretary, and others, about their opinion of it. "We've not seen anything to equal it," they replied; "it is pleasant, fitting, and congenial." To this the caliph responded, "You are right; it is just as you say, yet it could not support the army, the people, and the various groups. What I want is a place that is comfortable for the people and congenial for them as well as for me, a place where the prices will not become too high for them and the food supplies will not prove too hard to obtain. If I live in a place where it is impossible to import anything by land or sea, the prices will be high, goods will be scarce, and shortages in the food supply will cause hardship for the people. On the way here, I actually passed a place that combines these various natural qualities, so I shall stop and stay overnight there. If I find it to be the precise combination that I want, i.e., a healthful nocturnal environment, convenience, and the capacity to support both the army and the people, I shall build there.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī: I was told that Abū Ja'far came toward the bridge, crossed over at [what is now] Qaṣr al-Salām,[1109] and then performed the late-afternoon prayer. It

1106. Bārimmā was a town in the province of al-Jazīrah on the east bank of the Tigris somewhat south of al-Sinn. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 320; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 26; Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.

1107. See note 106.

1108. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd is earlier identified as a *mawlā* of Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī, who is listed among the administrative officers in Khurāsān when al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī was governor. Ṭabarī, II, 81, 840.

1109. As Qaṣr al-Salāmah, Ṭabarī, III, 502, mentions the construction of this palace by al-Mahdī in the events of 164/780–81. Its site was 'Īsābādh, a village

was summertime, and at the site of al-Qaṣr was a priest's church.[1110] The caliph stayed there all night and into the next [274] morning, enjoying the most pleasant and refreshing night's rest on earth. The caliph then remained for the rest of the day without seeing anything he did not like. Consequently he declared, "This is the site on which I shall build. Goods can come here via the Tigris, the Euphrates, and various canals. Only a place like this can support both the army and the populace." He marked the boundaries of the city and calculated the extent of its construction. With his own hand he set the first brick in place while saying the words "In the name of God" and "Praise God" and "The earth belongs to God who makes heirs of it those of His servants whom He wishes, and the outcome is to the upright."[1111] He concluded with the statement "Build, then, with God's blessing."

According to Bishr b. Maymūn al-Sharawī—Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Upon al-Manṣūr's return from the region of al-Jibāl, he asked about the account that the army commander had heard from the physician. This was the physician who had told him about the report of a certain Miqlāṣ that they had found in their books. He stopped at the monastery that lay opposite his [future] palace known as al-Khuld.[1112] Al-Manṣūr summoned the head of the monastery and had the Patricius, the master of Raḥā al-Biṭrīq ("Mills of the Patricius"),[1113] brought to him as well. Others whom he summoned were the overlord of [the village of] Bagh-

owned by ʿĪsā b. al-Mahdī, to the east of Baghdad. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 194; Lassner, *Topography*, 231, n. 3; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 357.

1110. *Biʿatu qassin*. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 132, for association of this with the subsequent mention of Bustān al-Qass.

1111. Qur'ān, 7:128.

1112. The name means "Eternity," and the palace complex that al-Manṣūr began to build there in 157/773–74 included gardens thought to rival those of paradise (cf. Qur'ān 25:15, for *jannat al-khuld*). The monastery itself is identified as Dayr Mārfathion or al-Dayr al-ʿAtīq. Ṭabarī, III, 379; *EI*², s.v. Baghdād (A. A. Duri); Lassner, *Topography*, 149; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–5.

1113. Or Arḥā' al-Biṭrīq; according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, these mills, which were situated at the junction of the Greater and Lesser Ṣarāt Canals, were a commercial venture between the caliph al-Mahdī (Abū Jaʿfar's son) and the Byzantine ambassador to his court. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 31–32; Lassner, *Topography*, 184, 259–60; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142–44; *EI*², s.v. Biṭrīk (I. Kawar).

dad, the overlord of al-Mukharrim,[1114] and head of the monastery known as Bustān al-Qass ("Garden of the Priest")[1115] and the overlord of al-ʿAtīqah.[1116] The caliph questioned them about the places where they lived, asking what they were like in heat and cold, in rainy and muddy weather, and in terms of bugs and vermin. Each one told him what he knew from personal experience. Next, the caliph dispatched men on his own behest and ordered each of them to spend the night in one of these villages. Accordingly, each of these men passed the night in one of these villages and brought the caliph information about it. Al-Manṣūr next sought the advice of those whom he had summoned and examined carefully[1117] what they said. Their unanimous choice fell upon the overlord of Baghdad, so the caliph had him brought for consultation and careful questioning. (Now he was the *dihqān*[1118] whose village still stands in the quarter known as that of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī.[1119] To this very day the domes of the village are still maintained in good
[275] repair, and his house survives intact.) The overlord of Baghdad said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have asked me about these places, about their [relative] suitability, and about which of them should be chosen. What I think, O Commander of the Faithful, is that you should settle in four sectors, the two on the west side being Quṭrabbul and Bādūrayā,[1120] and the two on

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1114. Mukharrim was a district of Baghdad that lay to the south of the Shammāsiyyah and Ruṣāfah quarters on the east side of the Tigris. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 295, states that it is named after Mukharrim b. Shurayḥ b. Ḥazn al-Ḥārithī. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 169–76, 217–30; Lassner, *Topography*, 81, 264.

1115. Bustān al-Qass was located on the west side of Baghdad between the Damascus and al-Kūfah gates. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 132, notes the identification of al-Qass as a freedman of al-Manṣūr but is puzzled about the significance of this earlier, and more generic, place name. Lassner, *Topography*, 68, 254.

1116. Al-ʿAtīqah, also known as al-Sūq al-ʿAtīqah, was one the "suburbs" of Baghdad that lay somewhat to the southeast of the Round City. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 90; Lassner, *Topography*, 73–74, 258.

1117. *Wa-tanaḥḥara akhbārahum*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naḥara*; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 653.

1118. The *dihqāns* were the landed nobility of Sāsānid Persia. *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān (Ann K. S. Lambton).

1119. See Lassner, *Topography*, 67. For Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī, see note 304.

1120. Quṭrabbul and Bādūrayā were the administrative districts west of Baghdad that were separated by the Ṣarāt Canal. *EI*², s.v. Bādūrayā (M. Streck) and s.v. Ḳuṭrabbul (J. Lassner); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 26, 32; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 317–18, IV, 371–72.

the east side being Nahr Būq and Kalwādhā.[1121] There you would be among date palms and near water. If one sector suffers from drought and its productivity is delayed, the other could be cultivated. Further, O Commander of the Faithful, you would be on the Ṣarāt Canal, permitting provisions to come to you along the Euphrates in ships from the west, as well as the choice products of Egypt and Syria. Supplies would also come to you along the Tigris in ships from China, India, al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. Finally, stores would reach you from Armenia and those adjacent areas via the Tāmarrā Canal[1122] connecting to the Zāb, as well as from Byzantium, Āmid,[1123] the Jazīrah, and al-Mawṣil down the Tigris. You would be among waterways where no enemy of yours could reach you except by a floating or fixed bridge. When you cut the floating bridge and destroy the fixed bridges, your enemy will not be able to reach you at all. You would be between the Tigris and Euphrates, where no one could come to you from either the east or west without having to make a crossing. You would be midway among al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ, al-Kūfah, al-Mawṣil, and the whole Sawād. You would be near land, sea, and mountain." Al-Manṣūr became ever more determined to settle on the site that he had selected. The overlord of Baghdad added, "Furthermore, O Commander of the Faithful, God has blessed the Commander of the Faithful with such a great quantity of forces, commanders, and troops that not one of his enemies would aspire to come anywhere near him. The proper organization of cities requires you to make walls, moats and forts, but the Tigris and Euphrates shall be the moats for the Commander of the Faithful's city."

1121. Nahr Būq and Kalwādhā were localities on the east side of the Tigris. The Nahr Būq branched off from the Nahrawān Canal, and from it issued tributaries in east Baghdad. The name of the town of Kalwādhā is associated with *kilwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, said to be buried there. *EI*², s.v. Kalwādhā (Ed.); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 318; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50.

1122. The great Qāṭūl-Tāmarrā-Nahrawān canal system, which was well over 200 kilometers long, watered the lands east of the Tigris from above Sāmarrā' to around al-Nu'māniyyah. *EI*², s.v. Didjla (R. Hartmann and S. H. Longrigg) and Diyālā (S. H. Longrigg); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 30; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60.

1123. Āmid was the principal city of Diyār Bakr, the northern province of the Jazīrah, from which the Tigris flows. *EI*², s.v. Diyār Bakr (M. Canard and C. Cahen); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 56–58; Le Strange, *Lands*, 108–11.

[276] According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā[1124]—Ḥammād the Turk:[1125] In the year 145 al-Manṣūr sent men to search out for him a place where he could build his city. They investigated and explored, but the caliph remained dissatisfied with every site until he came to stop at the monastery on the Ṣarāt Canal and declared, "This is a site with which I am satisfied. Provisions come to it from the Euphrates, from the Tigris, and from this Ṣarāt Canal."

According to Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naṭṭāḥ[1126]—Muḥammad b. Jābir[1127]—his father: At the time when Abū Jaʿfar was of a mind to build his city at Baghdad, he saw a monk and called out to him. When the monk responded to him, Abū Jaʿfar asked, "In your books do you find it predicted that a city will be built here?" "Yes," the monk replied, "a certain Miqlāṣ is to build it." At this Abū Jaʿfar exclaimed, "Miqlāṣ was my name as a lad!" The monk answered, "Then you're the man for it!" Similarly, when the caliph wanted to build al-Rāfiqah[1128] in [former] Byzantium territory, the people of al-Raqqah[1129] opposed this and were intent on fighting him. They argued, "You will ruin our markets, take away our livelihood, and reduce our way stations to hardship." Abū Jaʿfar was minded to make war on them when he sent for a monk in the local hermitage and asked, "Do you know any prediction that a city is to be built here?" "I have heard that

1124. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr Ibn Burayh (III, 331) or Ibn Burayhah b. al-Manṣūr (III, 1141) was the grandson of Abū Jaʿfar, his father being one of the sons born to the caliph by Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad, a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad's companion, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh. Ṭabarī, III, 442.

1125. Ḥammād the Turk was a personal retainer to al-Manṣūr who on occasion handled his horses and was responsible for the caliph's locked personal records. Ṭabarī, III, 392, 429, 443; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 143.

1126. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mihrān (d. 252/866), a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, was a Baṣran traditionist and geneaologist who settled in Baghdad. Al-Nadīm (Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, I, 236) cites his as the first history of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty (but see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 89). He was known as "Abū Tayyāḥ," probably in reference to a twisted gait. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 201–2; *GAS*, I, 317; *GAL*, I, 216.

1127. Transmitting on the authority of his father, Muḥammad b. Jābir, is cited again in the reference to the building of al-Rāfiqah in 158/770–71. Ṭabarī, III, 372.

1128. Al-Rāfiqah was a garrison city, built on the plan of Baghdad, that eventually became part of al-Raqqah. A variant of this account from Muḥammad b. Jābir's father is included with the events for 154/770–71. Ṭabarī, III, 372; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 21; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 15–16.

1129. Creswell, *Short Account*, 243–48, describes the building done during al-Manṣūr's reign in al-Raqqah itself.

a man called Miqlāṣ will build it," the monk replied. At this Abū Ja'far exclaimed, "I am Miqlāṣ!" and built al-Rāfiqah on the model of Baghdad except for the walls, iron gates, and a moat at some distance.

According to al-Sarī[1130]—Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Al-Manṣūr sent for a host of craftsmen and laborers from Syria, al-Mawṣil, al-Jabal, al-Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, and al-Baṣrah to be brought to him, commanding [also] the selection of a group of people endowed with virtue, integrity, intelligence, fidelity, and surveying competence.[1131] Consequently, among those brought to him were al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh[1132] and Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit.[1133] The [277] caliph ordered the city to be marked out, its foundations excavated, its mud bricks shaped, and its baked bricks fired.[1134] Thus was it begun, the first stage of the project being initiated in 145.

It is said: When al-Manṣūr decided to build Baghdad, he wanted to see for himself what it would look like, so he commanded that its outline be drawn with ashes. He then proceeded to enter through each gate and to walk among its outside walls, its arched areas, and its courtyards, all of which were outlined in ashes. He made the rounds, looking at the workmen and at the trenches that had been sketched. Having done that, he ordered cotton seeds placed on this outline and oil poured on it. Then he watched as the fire flared up, seeing the city as a whole and

1130. Abū al-Haytham al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā b. Iyās (d. 167/783–84) was a Baṣran traditionist and a principal source for Ṭabarī's accounts of the conquests undertaken during the earliest caliphates. *GAS*, I, 312; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 400–1.

1131. Hitti, *Capital Cities*, 88, reckons the laborers as 100,000 and the cost of the city's construction as 4,883,000 dirhams. See also Alsayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 117, on Ṭabarī's use of the term *handasah*.

1132. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh b. Thawr b. Hubayrah, Abū Arṭāh al-Nakha'ī (d. 154/771), was a traditionist and *faqīh* who lived in al-Kūfah along with Abū Ḥanīfah and later served as judge of al-Baṣrah and secretary to al-Manṣūr. Ṭabarī, II, 1850, III, 66; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 68–75; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 306–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 172–74; Crone, *Slaves*, 157.

1133. Abū Ḥanīfah was the famous *faqīh* of al-Kūfah from whose teachings the Ḥanafī *madhhab* claims descent. He died in a Baghdad prison in 150/767. *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht). For more about the relations between al-Manṣūr and Abū Ḥanīfah see Rustum, *Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr*, 102–5.

1134. Creswell, *Short Account*, 232–33, describes the use of both kinds of brick, while Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, 19–20, notes that the bricks were huge, with some weighing about 200 pounds.

recognizing its full plan. Subsequently, he ordered the foundations to be excavated along those lines and commenced its construction.

According to Ḥammād the Turk: Al-Manṣūr sent men to search out a site on which to build his city. They made such exploration in 144, a year or so before Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising. The scouts' selection fell upon a place called Baghdad, a village on the bank of the Ṣarāt, in the area adjacent to [the future] al-Khuld. On the site of al-Khuld stood a monastery, and in the curve of the Ṣarāt, adjacent to al-Khuld on the east side, was also a village called Sūq al-Baqar ("Cattle Market")[1135] and a large monastery. The village itself, [also] known as al-ʿAtīqah, was the one conquered by al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī.[1136] Ḥammād continued: Al-Manṣūr came to stay in the monastery located at al-Khuld on the Ṣarāt Canal. Finding there few noisome insects, he stated, "This is a place with which I am satisfied. Supplies can reach it via the Euphrates and Tigris. It's a good place to build a city." The caliph therefore said to the monk in the monastery, "O monk, I intend to build a city here." To this the monk responded, "It cannot be. The only one who is to build a
[278] city here is a king called Abū al-Dawānīq." Al-Manṣūr chuckled to himself, saying, "I, in fact, am Abū Dawānīq."[1137] He then commanded the outline of the city drawn and assigned to it four army commanders, one for each quarter.

According to Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Al-Manṣūr wanted Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit to head the judiciary, but he refused that appointment. Al-Manṣūr swore that he should assume office, but Abū Ḥanīfah, in turn, swore that he would not do so. The caliph, therefore, put him in charge of the city's construction, i.e., making the mud bricks, calculating the amount, and overseeing the men at work. Al-Manṣūr made that appointment simply to relieve himself of the oath he had sworn. Abū Ḥanīfah

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1135. Sūq al-Baqar was a site in east Baghdad. Lassner, *Topography*, 103.

1136. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī was an officer who fought with Khālid b. al-Walīd in the early conquest of Iraq. He was wounded in the Persian victory at al-Qarqas, the Battle of the Bridge, which occurred in 13/634 or 14/635, and died about about a year later. Ṭabarī, I, 2156; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 241–56; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 276; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 377–78, 380–81.

1137. See note 800.

remained in charge of the project until he completed final construction, in 149, of the city wall next to the moat.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī: Al-Manṣūr asked Abū Ḥanīfah to head the judiciary and the court for complaints and petitions (*maẓālim*),[1138] but the latter turned him down. The caliph then swore that he would give him no rest until he took the job, and this was reported to Abū Ḥanīfah. The latter called for a reed linear measure (*qaṣabah*)[1139] and counted the bricks that a [given] man made—Abū Ḥanīfah was the first to count bricks with reeds—and this served to discharge Abū Jaʿfar's oath. Eventually, Abū Ḥanīfah fell ill and died in Baghdad.

According to some sources: When Abū Jaʿfar ordered trenches[1140] to be dug, construction begun, and the foundations firmed up, he commanded that at its lowest point the wall should be fifty cubits (*dhirāʿ*)[1141] thick, and at its highest, twenty cubits.[1142] In the construction he used cane beams rather than wood for every corridor. In 145, when the wall had reached the height of one fathom (*qāmah*),[1143] the caliph received word of Muḥammad's uprising, so he interrupted construction.

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd b. Jabalah[1144]—his father—his father Jabalah: Before it was built, [the site of] Abū Jaʿfar's city was a common field known as al-Mubārakah ("the Blessed") that was shared by sixty citizens of Baghdad. The caliph compensated these people in a manner that satisfied them. My grandfather received a share of this reimbursement.

1138. The *maẓālim* court sessions were a judicial structure of broad responsibility that functioned as both a complement and a constraint to the power of judges. *EI*², s.v. (J. S. Nielsen); Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 51.

1139. A *qaṣabah* was the equivalent of about four meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

1140. *Bi-ḥafri al-khandādiq*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIII.

1141. The various equivalences for the *dhirāʿ*, which average about fifty centimeters, may be found in Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 55–62.

1142. According to Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, 21, the top of the wall was about twenty-five cubits. It could function as a roadway to which horsemen mounted via inclined pathways.

1143. The *qāmah* equaled about two meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 54.

1144. Perhaps Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭuraythīthī, known as Dār Umm Salamah, who was a traditionist and *ḥāfiẓ* of al-Kūfah. His death date is reported as 220/835 and 229/843–44. This is his only mention in Ṭabarī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 23; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 509–10.

[279] According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr—Ḥammād the Turk: Surrounding Abū Jaʿfar's future city stood various villages. Near the site of what is now the Syrian gate stood a village called al-Khaṭṭābiyyah, which ran from Darb al-Nūrah gate to Darb al-Aqfāṣ.[1145] Some of its date palms actually stood on the main street leading to the Syrian gate until the days of the deposed caliph [al-Amīn],[1146] when they were cut down during the period of civil disorder. This al-Khaṭṭābiyyah belonged to a group of *dihqān* families known as the Banū Farwah and the Banū Qunūrā, whose members included Ismāʿīl b. Dīnār, Yaʿqūb b. Sulaymān, and their associates.

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt:[1147] The village that stood in what is now the Abū al-ʿAbbās quarter[1148] was the village of Muḥammad b. Mūsā's maternal grandfather, whose people were a *dihqān* family known as the Banū Zurārī.[1149] The village itself was called al-Wardāniyyah.[1150] Another village still existing today lies adjacent to the Abū Farwah[1151] quarter.

According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā: The area today known as Dār Saʿīd al-Khaṭīb was once a village called Sharafāniyyah.[1152] A palm grove belonging to it is still standing near Abū al-Jawn Bridge,[1153] Abū al-Jawn being one of the *dihqāns* of Baghdad who came from this village.

1145. The village and the two roads, i.e., the road of the Cages and the Chalk Road, were located in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, a northwestern suburb of the Round City.

1146. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 198/813) was deposed by his brother al-Ma'mūn (for attempting to displace him in the accepted order of succession) after prolonged warfare between the Iraqī and Khurāsānī supporters of these two claimants. *EI*², s.v. al-Amīn (F. Gabrieli).

1147. According to Lassner, *Topography*, 252, Muḥammad b. Mūsā was one of a famous family of public officials.

1148. For its site on the west side of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 126, and Lassner, *Topography*, 67.

1149. See Lassner, *Topography*, 67, for Banū Zarārī.

1150. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 371, the village was named after a certain Wardān.

1151. See the mention of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's protector on p. 258.

1152. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 336; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 129; Lassner, *Topography*, 67, 252.

1153. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 336; Lassner, *Topography*, 67, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 129.

According to a source: The land grant (*qaṭīʿah*) of al-Rabīʿ[1154] was a common field for the people from a village called Banāwarī in the market town (*rustāq*) of al-Farawsyaj of Bādūrayā.[1155]

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt—his father or grandfather (he was unsure of the transmitter): One of the Bādūrayā *dihqāns* came to see me dressed in a torn shawl (*ṭaylasān*).[1156] I asked him who tore his shawl, and he replied, "It was torn, by God, in the crush of people today at a place where for ages hares and gazelles have been hunted." He was referring to what is now the Bāb al-Karkh[1157] area. They say that the outer land grant of al-Rabīʿ was only bestowed upon al-Rabīʿ by al-Mahdī. Al-Manṣūr had given him no more than the inner land grant of al-Rabīʿ on the same basis. [280]

It is said that the Ṭābaq Canal[1158] dates from the time of Kisrā[1159] and that it is [identical with] the Bābak b. Bahrām b. Bābak Canal, named for the Bābak who built the palace[1160] that lies under the castle of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[1161] and who excavated this canal.

1154. Al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, al-Manṣūr's chamberlain and vizier (see note 162), whose land grant was divided into an inner and an outer portion. The area that these occupied eventually became a commercial center of one of the most densely populated sections of the suburb al-Karkh. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 377; Lassner, *Topography*, 71, 187, 256–57; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 58.

1155. For the *rustāq* of al-Farawsyaj and Bādūrayā, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 257, and I, 317, respectively.

1156. See Ahsan, *Social Life*, 42–43, and Agius, *Arabic Literary Works*, 217–20.

1157. Bāb al-Karkh was the gate that opened onto the suburb of al-Karkh from the west. In 146/763–64, for reasons of security, Abū Jaʿfar had the markets relocated from within the walls of the Round City to this area. Ṭabarī, III, 323–25; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 63; Lassner, *Topography*, 60, 102, 247–48, and *Shaping*, 195, 197–202.

1158. "Ṭābaq" was the designation given to the section of the Karkhāyā that connected to the ʿĪsā Canal. The name of the canal is variously attributed to a certain Ṭābaq b. Ṣamyah, to a corruption of the name Bābak, and to a term for the construction tiles that were manufactured near where it flowed. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 321; Lassner, *Topography*, 74–75, 258–59; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 69, 81–84.

1159. Kisrā Anūshirwān (531–79 C.E.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591–628 C.E.) were emperors of the late Sāsānid period renowned in Arab sources. *EI*², s.v. Kisrā (M. Morony).

1160. The Leiden edition reads *al-ʿaqr*, while Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 321, gives *al-ʿaqd*, which can mean "vault" or "arch."

1161. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. See note 137.

It is mentioned that the Jaʿfar Harbor was a land grant (*iqṭāʿ*) from Abū Jaʿfar to his son Jaʿfar and that the Old Bridge[1162] dates from Persian times.

According to Ḥammād the Turk: Al-Manṣūr stayed in the monastery on the bank of the Tigris in the place [later] known as al-Khuld. We were there on a very hot summer day in 145. I had gone outside to sit with al-Rabīʿ and his retainers when a man approached and passed the guard on the way to the ruler's section of the mosque. He sought permission to enter, so we announced him to al-Manṣūr. As he was accompanied by Salm b. Abī Salm, the caliph gave permission for him to enter. The man then informed the caliph of Muḥammad's uprising. Al-Manṣūr responded, "We shall immediately write to Egypt that supplies to the Ḥaramayn[1163] be suspended." "They are going to be in a kind of tight squeeze,"[1164] he added, "when Egyptian supplies and provisions are withheld from them." The caliph then ordered a letter sent to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad,[1165] governor of the Jazīrah, informing him about Muḥammad and saying, "I am leaving as soon as I have written to al-Kūfah. Send me daily as many reinforcement troops from the Jazīrah as you can." He wrote in a similar
[281] fashion to the Syrian commanders, "If even one man were to show up here every day, I could augment my present Khurāsānī contingent. Furthermore, if that impostor [Muḥammad] hears that I am being reinforced, he will lose heart." The caliph then proclaimed his immediate departure, and we left in a fierce heat for al-Kūfah, where he stayed until the war between Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm and him was concluded. When he was free of them, he returned to Baghdad.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit[1166]—a *shaykh* of the Quraysh: When Abū Jaʿfar pulled out of Baghdad heading for al-Kūfah

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1162. Al-Qanṭarah al-ʿAtīqah, which was located at the conjuction of the Greater Ṣarāt Canal with the Lesser Ṣarāt. Lassner, *Topography*, 277.

1163. The two sacred places, i.e., Mecca and Medina.

1164. *Hum fī mithli ḥarajatin. Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥaraja*, which explains the expression with allusion to an overgrown thicket.

1165. Abū Jaʿfar's brother. See note 218.

1166. Aḥmad b. Thābit b. ʿAttāb al-Rāzī, frequently a transmitter for Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī (d. 170/787), was a source for *maghāzī* material who was born in Medina but died in Baghdad. *GAS*, I, 292; *EI*², s.v. Abū Maʿshar (F. Rosenthal).

(having received news via post dispatch about Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising in Medina), several of his close companions, i.e., ʿUthmān b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym,[1167] Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī,[1168] ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿ al-Madānī, watched him go off on his mount surrounded by his brothers. ʿUthmān said, "I think Muḥammad is going to lose, as will those of his family who have sided with him. Wiliness, cunning, and sagacity form the very stuffing of the robes of this ʿAbbāsī. As for Muḥammad's waging war against him, the words of Ibn Jidhl al-Ṭiʿān[1169] are apposite:

How many raids and cavalry charges
has he faced when the meeting grew hot,
Forcing their arrogance back until he made them bend,
with a lance in which no warp could be seen."

At this Isḥāq b. Muslim added, "By God, I have examined him closely! I touched his shaft and found it rough. I clasped it and found it hard. I tasted it and found it bitter. Al-Manṣūr and his accompanying brothers remind one of what Rabīʿah b. Mukaddam[1170] said:

Horsemen rise up before me, their faces like
lamps appearing in the darkness, shining brightly.
Guided by a leader who is calamity's brother,
frowning on the night march, for noon suns have scorched him."

1167. While this is the only mention of ʿUthmān in Ṭabarī, his father, ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym (or Khuraym) al-Murrī, appears in the year 111/729–30 as head of the vanguard for al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's newly appointed governor of Khurāsān. He was subsequently imprisoned by al-Junayd's successor, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hilālī. Ṭabarī, II, 1529, 1565; Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

1168. Isḥāq b. Muslim served in Armenia under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's governor Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik and was later appointed governor there. Ṭabarī, II, 1635, 1871, III, 57–58; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206; Crone, *Slaves*, 106.

1169. ʿAbdallāh b. Jidhl al-Tiʿān. Fischer and Braünlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 170; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 47, II, 262.

1170. Rabīʿah b. Mukaddam was a poet-hero of the Banū Kinānah. Ibid., I, 47, II, 480.

[282] Finally ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ said, "He is the lion in a lair, a restless wild cat, a predator to his peers who robs them of their spirit. When war is stirred up he is as Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith[1171] said:

Ours is a *shaykh,* who when war rolls up its sleeves,
instantly takes the initiative before his brethren."

Abū Jaʿfar continued on to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah and then settled in al-Kūfah, from where he dispatched troops. When the war was over, he went back to Baghdad and finished building it.

In this year Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, came out in open revolt in al-Baṣrah and waged war against Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. In this year he also was killed.

The Reason for Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's Revolt and Murder and How It Came About

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ—his father: Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm grew apprehensive when Abū Jaʿfar seized ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. They left for ʿAdan, but feeling afraid there, they continued on by sea as far as Sind. There, however, they were denounced to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ,[1172] so they left for al-Kūfah where Abū Jaʿfar was currently in residence.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Saʿīd b. Nūḥ al-Ḍubaʿī,[1173] son of Abū al-Sāj al-Ḍubaʿī's daughter—Minnah bt. Abī al-Minhāl: Ibrāhīm stayed at al-Ḥārith b. ʿĪsā's house in the Banū Ḍubayʿah[1174] quarter but was not seen during the daytime. He

1171. Al-Mughīrah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was a cousin of the Prophet. He first appears in Ṭabarī giving Abū Lahab an account of the Qurashī defeat at Badr, but is especially remembered for his loyalty to Muḥammad at the battle of Ḥunayn. Ṭabarī, I, 1339; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab,* I, 7, II, 419; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf,* III, 4, 266; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* I, 202–5.

1172. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī who, like the army commander of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā mentioned earlier, was also known as Hazārmard. See note 374.

1173. Saʿīd b. Nūḥ b. Mujālid b. Yazīd b. ʿImrān al-Ḍubaʿī was the grandson of one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders. Ṭabarī, III, 293.

1174. The Banū Ḍubayʿah were a tribe of Rabīʿah b. Nizār. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab,* I, 243, II, 141, 173; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab,* 292–93.

had a concubine of his with him, and I used to chat with her, but we didn't realize who they were until Ibrāhīm made his uprising. At that time I went to her and asked, "Are you my friend?" "I am so," was her reply. "No, by God, the earth has not given us a safe place to settle for five years, being at various times in Fārs, Kirmān,[1175] al-Jabal, the Ḥijāz, and the Yemen." [283]

According to 'Umar—Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Muṭahhar b. al-Ḥārith: Together with Ibrāhīm we were on our way from Mecca to al-Baṣrah, our group numbering ten in all. A bedouin accompanied us part of the way, so we asked him his name. "So and so, son of Abū Maṣād al-Kalbī,"[1176] he replied, staying with us until we drew near al-Baṣrah. One day the bedouin turned to me and asked, "Isn't that Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan?" "No," said I, "that's a Syrian fellow." When we were a night's journey out from al-Baṣrah, Ibrāhīm went on ahead while we stayed behind him and entered the next morning.

According to 'Umar—Abū Ṣafwān Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr b. Sayyār: Ibrāhīm's arrival in al-Baṣrah occurred at the beginning of the year 143 as people were returning from the Pilgrimage. The person who made advance preparations for him, took care of his expenses, and rode as counterbalance in his litter was Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī. He lodged Ibrāhīm in his house in the Banū Layth[1177] [quarter], and purchased a foreign slave girl from Sind for him. Ibrāhīm got her with child in Yaḥyā b. Ziyād's house.

According to Ibn Qudayd b. Naṣr: He was present at the funeral procession for that child, and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād said the prayer for him.

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Ma'rūf—his father: Ibrāhīm stayed in al-Ḥiyār,[1178] which is in Syria, with al-Qa'qā' b.

1175. Fārs and Kirmān were adjoining provinces that lay between the Persian Gulf and the Great Desert.

1176. Maṣād b. Ka'b was a branch of 'Abdallāh b. Kinānah, an important subdivision of the Banū Kalb. Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, I, 283, II, 403.

1177. Layth b. Bakr was a clan of the Banū Kinānah. Ibid., I, 36, II, 376; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 81, 389.

1178. Ḥiyār Banī Qa'qā' was a locality near Qinnasrīn that Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik had given to his secretary al-Qa'qā' b. Khulayd (or Khālid) al-'Absī. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 327; Ṭabarī, II, 837.

Khulayd al-ʿAbsī's family.[1179] Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, who was then in authority at Qinnasrīn, wrote to Abū Jaʿfar on a slip of paper that he appended to the foot of his letter. He told him about Ibrāhīm, about how he had searched for him but had found that now Ibrāhīm had been one step ahead of him, moving down to al-Baṣrah. The letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, and he read the first part of it, but finding nothing but the [final] salutation, he tossed the
[284] letter to Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī who, in turn, pitched it into his register. When they were about to answer the governors' correspondence, Abān b. Ṣadaqah,[1180] who was then Abū Ayyūb's secretary, opened al-Faḍl's letter to look at its date, and he came upon the slip of paper. As soon as he saw the beginning of it, i.e., the words "I am informing[1181] the Commander of the Faithful," he put it back in the letter. Abān then went to see Abū Jaʿfar and read the letter aloud. Consequently, the caliph ordered spies sent as well as checkpoints and watch posts set up.

According to ʿUmar—al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Faḍl—his father: I heard Ibrāhīm say, "The search in al-Mawṣil pressed upon me until I actually sat at the tables of Abū Jaʿfar. It happened this way: He arrived there in search of me and, confused and exposed [lit. the earth spat me forth],[1182] I was at my wits' end. But the caliph had established a search and checkpoints, and had summoned the people to eat with him in the morning. I, therefore, entered with those who entered and ate with those who ate. Then I left when the search had been called off."

According to ʿUmar—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: A man said to Muṭahhar b. al-Ḥārith, "Ibrāhīm passed through al-Kūfah and I met him." Muṭahhar denied that Ibrāhīm entered al-Kūfah and added, "Having been in al-Mawṣil, he passed through al-Anbār, then Baghdad, al-Madāʾin, al-Nīl[1183] and Wāsiṭ."

1179. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Khulayd was secretary to the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86–96/705–15). Ṭabarī, II, 837; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 132, II, 465; Crone, *Slaves*, 105–6.

1180. During the caliphate of al-Mahdī, Abān b. Ṣadaqah (d. 167/783–84) was appointed secretary to the caliph's son Hārūn al-Rashīd in 160 and then to his son Mūsā al-Hādī in 161. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 301; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 97–98.

1181. *Ukhbiru*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

1182. *Qadimahā yaṭlubunī fa-taḥabbartu fa-lafaẓatnī al-arḍ*. Ibid.

1183. Al-Nīl was a city southwest of Baghdad that lay just below a canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris, i.e., the Great Ṣarāt. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 334; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 72–73.

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr: Ibrāhīm had corresponded with a group of people in [Abū Jaʿfar's] camp who were sympathetic to his cause. They wrote asking him to come to them and promising him to make a violent attack on Abū Jaʿfar. Ibrāhīm, therefore, went as far as Abū Jaʿfar's encampment. At that time, the caliph was staying in Baghdad at the monastery. He had already drawn the city plan of Baghdad and made up his mind to build. Now Abū Jaʿfar owned a mirror into which he could look and tell his enemy from his friend. It has been asserted that he looked into it and said, "O Musayyab,[1184] by God, I have seen Ibrāhīm in my camp. Nowhere on on earth is there an enemy more hostile to me than he. Consider carefully what you are doing."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, the son of the [285] gatekeeper: Abū Jaʿfar ordered the Old Bridge built over the Ṣarāt Canal. Going out to view it, he spotted Ibrāhīm, but the latter slipped off. He left with the crowd and went to a corn chandler, seeking asylum with him. The corn seller had Ibrāhīm ascend to one of his upper rooms. As Abū Jaʿfar intensified the search for him and posted lookouts everywhere, Ibrāhīm was confined to his hiding place. Abū Jaʿfar made the most exhaustive search possible, but Ibrāhīm kept his whereabouts well concealed.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father and Naṣr b. Qudayd—Ibn Qudayd's father—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Bawwāb, Kathīr b. al-Naḍr b. Kathīr, ʿUmar b. Idrīs, Ibn Abī Sufyān al-ʿAmmī, who agree on the main part of the account but disagree about some of it: While Ibrāhīm kept close, living in fear of the watch, he had the company of a man from the Banū al-ʿAmm.[1185] (ʿUmar said: Abū Ṣafwān [Naṣr b. Qudayd] told me that the man's name was Rawḥ b. Thaqaf, and Ibn al-Bawwāb said that his patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh; others have told me that his name was Sufyān b. Ḥayyān b. Mūsā.) This man, whom ʿUmar identified as the grandfather of the ʿAmmī who recounted this to him, said: "I said to Ibrāhīm, 'Events have fallen out as you see. There is no way out of risk and hazard.' Ibrāhīm replied, "*You*

1184. Musayyab b. Zuhayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī. See note 333.

1185. Ṭabarī, I, 2535, gives the genealogy of "b. Mālik b. Ḥanzalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm," but the affiliation with Tamīm has been questioned. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 212, II, 166.

do it, then!" The man then approached al-Rabīʿ[1186] and asked his permission to enter. "Who are you?" asked al-Rabīʿ. "I am Sufyān al-ʿAmmī," the man replied. Al-Rabīʿ then ushered him into Abū Jaʿfar's presence, but when the caliph saw him, he spoke abusively to the man. Sufyān said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I deserve what you say, yet I come to you now in abstention and repentance. From me you shall have anything you want, if you will give me what I ask." "What do you have for me?" asked the caliph. Sufyān answered, "I can bring you Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b.
[286] Ḥasan. I've had long experience of him and his family but I have not found anything good in them. What will you give me if I do this?" "Anything you request," replied the caliph; "now tell me where is Ibrāhīm?" "He has already entered Baghdād," Sufyān said, "or he will enter it in the near future."

According to ʿUmar: Abū Ṣafwān [Naṣr b. Qudayd] told me that he said to the caliph, "Ibrāhīm is in ʿAbdasī;[1187] I left him in the house of Khālid b. Nahīk.[1188] [In return for this information] please write a travel authorization for me, for a servant of mine, and for an official guide, and transport me by postal courier."

According to ʿUmar: A certain person said to the caliph: "Send an army with me and write a travel authorization for me and for a servant of mine, and I will bring Ibrāhīm to you." The caliph, therefore, wrote a travel authorization and gave him an armed force, saying, "Here are 1,000 dīnārs; make good use of them." "I don't need that much," the man replied, taking 300 dīnārs. Approaching his goal, he came to Ibrāhīm while the latter was staying in a house. He was wearing a coarse shirt of wool and a turban. (Others say that he was wearing a full-sleeved gown (*qabāʾ*)[1189] of the type worn by servants.) The man yelled at him to stand, and Ibrāhīm jumped up with [apparent] fright. The man

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1186. Abū Faḍl al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus. See note 162.

1187. Or ʿAbdāsī/ʿAbdās. Although precise identification has not been made, this place (Persian Afdāsahī) is thought to have been in the vicinity of the Nahr al-Madhār, a name given to the most eastern stretch of the Tigris. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 42–43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 25; Morony, *Iraq*, 155, 161.

1188. Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindī, whose tribal affiliation is identified more precisely as the Banū Dhuhl b. Muʿāwiyah, was killed in battle against the Khārijite rebel Shabīb b. Yazīd while commanding ʿUthmān b. Qaṭan's right wing. Ṭabarī, II, 910, 935–36; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 233, II, 342.

1189. See note 980.

then proceeded to issue commands and prohibitions all the way to al-Madā'in. There the bridge master would not allow him to cross, so he handed over to him the travel authorization. "Where is your servant?" asked the bridge master. "Here he is," the man replied. When the bridge master looked into the servant's face, he exclaimed, "By God, this is no servant of yours; this is Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Still, go right ahead." Thus he let the two of them go and then ran away himself.

According to ʿUmar: Another source said, "The two of them rode the post road as far as ʿAbdasī. From there they took a boat to al-Baṣrah, where they went into hiding." Yet another source reports: "The ʿAmmī left Abū Jaʿfar's presence and went straight to al-Baṣrah. He contrived to bring them to a house having two doors and, posting ten of the escort at one of the doors, said, "Do not move until I come to you." He then went out the other door and left them, getting rid of the armed escort, so as to be on his own. Having done that, he went into hiding. Eventually news of [287] these activities reached Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah,[1190] who sent for and assembled them [those whom he had left]. He also made a search for the ʿAmmī, which proved fruitless.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn ʿĀ'ishah—his father: The one who schemed to rescue Ibrāhīm and the ʿAmmī[1191] from Ibn Muʿāwiyah was [named] ʿAmr b. Shaddād.[1192]

According to ʿUmar—someone from al-Madā'in—al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Shaddād—his father: Ibrāhīm came my way in al-Madā'in looking for a place to hide. I let him stay in a house of mine that lay on the bank of the Tigris. Subsequently, I was denounced to the governor of al-Madā'in, who beat me with one hundred lashes. I did not disclose Ibrāhīm's whereabouts, however, and when he stopped beating me, I went to tell Ibrāhīm, who then went off.

According to ʿUmar—al-ʿAbbās b. Sufyān b. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād, the *mawlā* of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (Yaḥyā b. Ziyād[1193] was one of those

1190. The governor of al-Baṣrah. See note 262.
1191. As suggested by the Leiden text's editor.
1192. ʿAmr b. Shaddād subsequently claimed Fārs for Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh and in 156/772–73 was arrested and crucified by Abū Jaʿfar's governor of al-Baṣrah, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah. Ṭabarī, III, 377–78.
1193. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī. See p. 253.

captured from the camp of Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah[1194]): When Ibrāhīm made his uprising, I was a lad of five. I heard our elders say that he came through here on his way down to al-Baṣrah from Syria. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ṣafwān (one of the *mawlās* attached to al-Ḥajjāj who were captured from the camp of Qaṭarī) went out to him and walked along with him, getting him across the tight spots. Later someone who had seen him came forward and said, "I saw ʿAbd al-Raḥīm with a sly-looking fellow who was wearing a rose-colored waist wrap and carrying a hazelwood bow[1195] to shoot." When ʿAbd al-Raḥīm returned, he was asked about such a man but feigned ignorance. In fact, Ibrāhīm used to disguise himself in that way.

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd: Upon his return from Baghdad, Ibrāhīm stayed with Abū Farwah among the Kindah.[1196] He went into hiding and sent for his followers to give them assignments for the revolt.

[288] According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham al-Ahwāzī—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb—his father: While Muḥammad b. Ḥuṣayn[1197] was searching for him, Ibrāhīm was in hiding at my place on the bank of the Dujayl[1198] near the city of al-Ahwāz.[1199] One day Muḥammad said, "The Commander of the Faithful wrote to tell me that astrologers had informed him that Ibrāhīm was in al-Ahwāz living on an island between two

1194. Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah was the last important leader of the Azraqī branch of Khārijites. He died in 78–79/698–99 during the attack against the Azāriqah made under the command of Sufyān b. al-Abrad. *EI*², s.v. (G. Levi della Vida); Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 57–58; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 209–11.

1195. *Qawsu julāhiqin*. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, X, 37, offers *bunduq* as a synonym for *julāhiq* and notes a Persian etymology for the latter.

1196. Kindah were a prominent tribal group of South Arabian origin. *EI*², s.v. (I. Shahid); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 176, 233, II, 371–72.

1197. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī was governor of al-Ahwāz. See note 10.

1198. "Dujayl" was the Arabic designation for the Kārūn river, the largest river in southern Iran. It was known as the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz to distinguish it from the Dujayl Canal, which, during the time of al-Manṣūr, connected the Tigris and Euphrates on a northern course parallel to the Nahr ʿĪsā. *EI*², s.v. Kārūn (M. Streck and J. Lassner); Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–36, and *Baghdad*, 48–49; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 188–92.

1199. Al-Ahwāz was the capital of the province of Khūzistān. In the ʿAbbāsid period it was a point of transshipment for the commercial use of the Kārūn River. *EI*², s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 284–86; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34.

rivers. I have searched so thoroughly for him on the island, i.e., the one between the al-Shāh Jurd and the Dujayl rivers, that I am sure he is not there. I have now decided to search the city for him in the morning, because the Commander of the Faithful may have meant the area between the Dujayl River and the Masruqān Canal."[1200] So I went to Ibrāhīm and said to him, "Tomorrow you will be the object of a search in this area." I then stayed with him for the rest of the day and at nightfall I took him to stay in the closer area of Dasht Arbuk,[1201] which lies outside of al-Kathth.[1202] I returned that night and stood waiting to see if Muḥammad would make a search for him in the morning. He did so, however, only as the day was waning and the sun about to set. At this point I went out to Ibrāhīm and brought him back in. Riding on two donkeys, we appeared in the city at the time of the last prayer of evening. As we entered the city and passed near the fissured mountain (*al-jabal al-maqṭūʿ*), we ran into the vanguard of Ibn Ḥuṣayn's cavalry. While the cavalry closed in on me, Ibrāhīm threw himself from his donkey, withdrew aside and squatted down to urinate. Not one of the horsemen turned toward me until I reached Ibn Ḥuṣayn. The latter asked me, "Abū Muḥammad, where are you coming from at such an hour?" I replied, "I spent the evening with a member of my family." [289]
"Shouldn't I send with you someone who can help you to get where you're going?" he inquired. "No," I answered, "I'm quite close to home." Ibn Ḥuṣayn went on searching while I kept going my way until the last of his associates was out of sight. I then turned around to go back to Ibrāhīm and hunted around for his donkey until I found it. We mounted[1203] and went on our way to spend the night with our people. Ibrāhīm said, "You know, by

1200. Above the city of Shustar (Arabic Tustar), the Kārūn River divided into two branches (thus creating an island) that reunited after about thirty miles at ʿAskar Makram. The eastern branch of this divide was known as the Masruqān Canal. The river designation "al-Shāh Jurd" here, which is mentioned only here in Ṭabarī, might be the name given to a stretch of one of these branches. Le Strange, *Lands*, 235–38; *EI*², s.v. Kārūn (M. Streck and J. Lassner).

1201. Ṭabarī later, III, 301, 1845, identifies this as a desert area that lay about one *mīl* from the citadel of al-Ahwāz. See also Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 137.

1202. The only identification for this vocalization that Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 638, is able to offer is a village near Bukhārā.

1203. *Fa-rakibnā*, following the Leiden edition, note *b*.

God, yesterday I urinated blood. Send someone to look." Coming to the place where he had urinated, I found that he had indeed passed blood.

According to ʿUmar—al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī: Abū Jaʿfar said, "Since the crowds of al-Baṣrah encompassed him, the matter of Ibrāhīm has become hard for me to follow up."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Misʿar b. al-ʿAlāʾ: When Ibrāhīm reached al-Baṣrah, he called upon the people to support his cause, and Mūsā b. ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim[1204] responded. Mūsā then took Ibrāhīm, incognito, to see al-Naḍr b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim. Mūsā said to al-Naḍr b. Isḥāq, "This fellow is Ibrāhīm's messenger." Ibrāhīm then talked with him, asking him to join his uprising. "O fellow," replied al-Naḍr, "how could I give the oath of allegiance to your master when my grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was at odds with his grandfather[1205] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, joining forces with those who opposed him?" Ibrāhīm responded, "Quit talking about the deeds and ways of our forefathers. All of that is an ancient debt, while I am summoning you to a [clear] duty." "By God," retorted al-Naḍr, "I only mentioned that to you as a joke. That's not what keeps me from supporting your master. Rather, I see no point in fighting, and I'm not indebted to him." Ibrāhīm then left, but Mūsā stayed behind and said to al-Naḍr, "By God, that was Ibrāhīm himself." Al-Naḍr exclaimed, "By God's life, you shouldn't have done that!
[290] If you had let me know, I would have spoken to him in quite another way."

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm summoned people to his cause while living in Abū Farwah's house. The first to give him the oath of allegiance were Numaylah b. Murrah,[1206] ʿAfwallāh b. Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād,[1207] ʿUmar b. Salamah al-Hujaymī, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn[1208] al-

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1204. His great-grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. 73/692–93) was an Umayyad governor of Khurāsān. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (H. A. R. Gibb).

1205. Ibrāhīm was actually the great-great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

1206. See note 1071.

1207. When Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became governor of al-Baṣrah, Ibn Ziyād's house and that of Ibn Sufyān were among those he destroyed upon orders from Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 327.

1208. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

Raqāshī. They, in turn, urged the people to join him. After them, enough young men among the Arabs answered the call, including al-Mughīrah b. al-Faz'[1209] and others like him, that people assumed Ibrāhīm could count 4,000 men in his enlistment rolls. As his affair became well known, they said to him, "If only you were to move to the heart of al-Baṣrah, just see how many would join you!" Feeling revived, Ibrāhīm moved and stayed at the house of Abū Marwān,[1210] a Naysābūrī *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym.

According to 'Umar—Yūnus b. Najdah: Ibrāhīm was staying among the Banū Rāsib at 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarb's house. He then left his house, leading a group of his partisans that included 'Afwallāh b. Sufyān, Burd b. Labīd (one of the Banū Yashkur)[1211], al-Maḍā' al-Taghlibī,[1212] al-Ṭuhawī,[1213] al-Mughīrah b. al-Faz', Numaylah b. Murrah, and Yaḥyā b. 'Amr al-Humānī. They passed the extensive tract of the Banū 'Aqīl[1214] on their way out to al-Ṭufāwah.[1215] They then passed Karzam's house[1216] and Nāfi' Iblīs[1217] on their way to Abū Marwān's house in the Banū Yashkur graveyard.

According to 'Umar—Ibn 'Afwallāh b. Sufyān—his father: One day I came to Ibrāhīm, finding him upset. He told me that he had received a letter from his brother informing him that he [Muḥammad] had made his uprising and commanding Ibrāhīm to stage his own revolt. He was dumbfounded with that news and [291]
greatly worried about it. I tried to smooth over the matter for him, saying, "Affairs have already worked together for you. You have al-Maḍā, al-Ṭuhawī, al-Mughīrah, and me, as well as various

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1209. Al-Mughīrah b. al-Faz' is first identified in Ṭabarī, III, 76, as a supporter of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm, a Khurāsānī officer who rebelled against the caliph Abū al-'Abbās in 134/751–52.

1210. His house, too, is listed by Ṭabarī, III, 327, as among those destroyed upon Abū Ja'far's orders. See note 1207.

1211. Yashkur b. Bakr was a tribe of Rabī'ah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 162, II, 592.

1212. Al-Maḍā' b. al-Qāsim al-Taghlibī al-Jazarī.

1213. His full name is never given in Ṭabarī.

1214. Presumably 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib. See note 866, and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 5, II, 191.

1215. Although not included in Yāqūt, this place is later mentioned in Ṭabarī's account of the Zanj rebellion at III, 1855.

1216. Karzam al-Sadūsī. See note 1251.

1217. The site is not mentioned in the standard geographical sources.

others, on your side. Tonight we will go and break open the prison, and when you awake tomorrow you will have a host of people with you." At this he regained his spirits.

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl b. Ismāʿīl—his father: When Muḥammad came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar sent for Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī, a man of good judgment, and said, "Tell me what you think. Muḥammad has now made an uprising in Medina." "Send the armies to al-Baṣrah," said Jaʿfar. The caliph then told him to leave until he was sent for. When Ibrāhīm reached al-Baṣrah, the caliph again sent for Jaʿfar and said, "Ibrāhīm has now reached al-Baṣrah." Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah responded, "That's why I was afraid for it; dispatch armies against him posthaste." "Why are you afraid for al-Baṣrah?" asked Abū Jaʿfar. "Because Muḥammad has made his uprising in Medina," said Jaʿfar, "and they are not sufficiently warlike to sustain the situation by themselves. The people of al-Kūfah are under your foot, while the Syrians are enemies of the family of Abū Ṭālib. That leaves only al-Baṣrah."[1218] Abū Jaʿfar thus sent the two sons of ʿAqīl, both Khurāsānī officers from the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. They arrived in al-Baṣrah, which was then governed by Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah, and he gave them a place to stay.

According to ʿUmar—Jawwād b. Ghālib b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū ʿIjl—Yaḥyā b. Budayl b. Yaḥyā b. Budayl: When Muḥammad came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar asked Abū Ayyūb and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd,[1219] "Do you know someone of sound opinions with whom we could put our heads together?" "There's Budayl b. Yaḥyā in al-Kūfah." they replied. "Abū al-ʿAbbās used to seek counsel with him, so send for him." The caliph did so and said to Budayl, "Muḥammad has now made an uprising in Medina." "Invest al-Ahwāz with an army," was his
[292] reply. The caliph retorted, "But he made his uprising in Medina." "I understand that," said Budayl, "But al-Ahwāz is their gate through which they can be brought." Abū Jaʿfar accepted Budyal's assessment.

According to ʿUmar: When Ibrāhīm arrived in al-Baṣrah, the caliph sent for Budayl and said, "Ibrāhīm has now reached al-

1218. On this conversation, see Lassner, "Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr," 45–47.
1219. See note 1108.

Baṣrah. Overtake him with the army and set al-Ahwāz ablaze[1220] against him."

According to Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Dimashqī, a Qurashī *mawlā*: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sought the advice of a Syrian *shaykh* who had sound opinions. The *shaykh* said, "Dispatch 4,000 Syrian troops to al-Baṣrah." The caliph paid no attention to him, saying, "The *shaykh* is feebleminded." Later, however, he sent for him again and said, "Ibrāhīm has now made an uprising in al-Baṣrah." To this the *shaykh* responded, "Send against him a force of Syrians." "Woe to you," said the caliph, "whom can I trust to deal with them?" The *shaykh* replied, "Write to your governor there, telling him to send you ten men every day by the post road." Accordingly, Abū Jaʿfar sent that order to Syria.

According to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ: I remember my father paying the army during that time. Although but a mere lad then, I held the lantern for him while he paid them at night.

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl—Salm b. Farqad:[1221] When Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah counseled Abū Jaʿfar to have the Syrian army sent down to him,[1222] they began arriving in contingents, some right on the tracks of others. Intending to alarm the people of al-Kūfah with them, Abū Jaʿfar ordered the soldiers, when dark of night concealed them in his camp, to go back but to keep well away from the road. The next morning they entered, leaving the people of al-Kūfah in no doubt that they were another army in addition to the first.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd,[1223] a servant to Abū al-ʿAbbās: Muḥammad b. Yazīd[1224] was one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders. He had a chestnut-colored mount of Persian breed, and frequently while we were in al-Kūfah he rode by us on it. [When he stood] his [293]
head was on level with that of the horse.[1225] Abū Jaʿfar dispatched

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1220. *Wa-ashʿil al-Ahwāza ʿalayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCLXV.

1221. Ṭabarī, III, 294, later identifies him as chamberlain to Sulaymān b. Mujālid.

1222. *Bi-ḥadri jundi al-shaʾmi ilayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadara*.

1223. Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. (Abī) al-Ḥakam b. Rāfiʿ. See note 674.

1224. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿImrān.

1225. *Qad sāwā raʾsuhu raʾsahu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sawiya*.

him to al-Baṣrah, where he stayed until Ibrāhīm came out in open revolt. Eventually, Ibrāhīm seized and imprisoned him.

According to Saʿīd b. Nūḥ b. Mujālid al-Ḍubaʿī: Abū Jaʿfar sent Mujālid and Muḥammad, the sons of Yazīd b. ʿImrān and natives of Abīward,[1226] as army commanders. Mujālid arrived before Muḥammad; then Muḥammad arrived on the night that Ibrāhīm began his rebellion. Sufyān obstructed them, imprisoning them near him in the governor's quarters until Ibrāhīm made his uprising. Then Ibrāhīm seized and shackled them. Along with those two, Abū Jaʿfar had also dispatched an army commander from ʿAbd al-Qays[1227] whose name was Muʿammar.

According to Yūnus b. Najdah: Mujālid b. Yazīd al-Ḍubaʿī reached Sufyān at Abū Jaʿfar's behest with 1,500 cavalry and 500 foot soldiers.

According to Saʿīd b. al-Ḥasan b. Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād b. ʿAmr b. al-Ashraf:[1228] I heard various people I do not count among our associates mention that Abū Jaʿfar sought advice about the situation with Ibrāhīm and was told, "The people of al-Kūfah are Ibrāhīm's partisans (*shīʿah*). In fact, al-Kūfah is a furiously boiling pot and you are its lid, so go and remain there." The caliph did so.

According to Muslim al-Khaṣī ("the Eunuch"), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's *mawlā*: The affair of Ibrāhīm occurred when I was some ten years old. In those days I belonged to Abū Jaʿfar, and we were lodged in al-Hāshimiyyah (of al-Kūfah) while the caliph himself was living in al-Ruṣāfah, behind al-Kūfah. The totality of his army stationed in his encampment numbered about 1,500, and al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr commanded his personal guard. The army was divided into three parts of 500 men each. As soldiers patrolled around the whole of al-Kūfah every night, the caliph commanded a herald to call out: "Whomever we seize after dark
[294] has declared himself open game." When the guard seized a man after dark, they would wrap him in a woolen cloak, carry

1226. "Abīward," or "Bāward," was the name of a town and district in northwestern Khurāsān. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 394–95; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 86–87.

1227. Banū ʿAbd al-Qays b. Afṣā were a component tribe of Rabīʿah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 168, II, 127; *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Ḳays (W. Caskel).

1228. Al-Ashraf was the son of al-Manṣūr's governor in Oman. See note 796.

him off, and make him spend the night near them. In the morning they would make inquiries about him, and if they could ascertain his innocence, they would release him. If not, they imprisoned him.

According to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhā' ("the Cobbler"): Abū Ja'far made the people wear black, so I used to see people dyeing their clothes with ink.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ja'd: In those days I saw the people of al-Kūfah take to wearing black clothes to such an extent that, even among the grocers, one of them would dye his garment [from his stock of] paints and then wear it.

According to Jawwād b. Ghālib—al-'Abbās b. Salm, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: Whenever the Commander of the Faithful Abū Ja'far suspected anyone in al-Kūfah of favoring Ibrāhīm, he would order my father Salm to search for him. The latter would then wait until nightfall, when people were quiet, to set a ladder against the man's dwelling. He would thereby burst in upon him in his house in order to drive him out, kill him, and take his signet ring.

According to Abū Sahl Jawwād:[1229] I heard Jamīl, Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās's *mawlā*, say to al-'Abbās b. Salm, "By God, had your father bequeathed nothing but the signet rings of those citizens of al-Kūfah whom he killed, you would be the best provided for of sons."

According to Sahl b. 'Aqīl—Salm b. Farqad, the chamberlain of Sulaymān b. Mujālid: I had a friend in al-Kūfah who came to me and said, "My dear fellow, you should know that the people of al-Kūfah are preparing to pounce on your master. If you can settle your family in a safe place, then do so. I went to Sulaymān b. Mujālid and gave him this information. He, in turn, informed Abū Ja'far. Now Abū Ja'far had a spy named Ibn Muqrin[1230] [295]
among the citizens of al-Kūfah, who was by profession a money changer. He sent for him and said, "Woe to you, the people of al-Kūfah have become stirred up." "No, by God, Commander of the Faithful," replied Ibn Muqrin, "I am your advocate with them." The caliph relied on his statement and left them alone.

1229. Probably Jawwād b. Ghālib b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū 'Ijl. See the preceding paragraph and p. 262.

1230. Thus vocalized in the Leiden text, but see I, 2025, for Ma'qil b. Muqarrin.

According to Yaḥyā b. Maymūn of the people of al-Qādisiyyah: I heard a number of the people of al-Qādisiyyah mention that a Khurāsānī named something-or-other b. Maʿqil, and whose patronymic was Abū al-Faḍl, was put in charge of al-Qādisiyyah to prevent the people of al-Kūfah from coming to [the aid of] Ibrāhīm. People were posted as watchmen on the road to al-Baṣrah because Kūfans would come first to al-Qādisiyyah, then to al-ʿUdhayb,[1231] and finally to Wādī al-Sibāʿ.[1232] At this point they would detour to the left through open country until they reached al-Baṣrah. A band of twelve men left al-Kūfah and got as far as Wādī al-Sibāʿ. There one of the Banū Asad[1233] *mawlās*, named Bakr, who was from the town of Sharāf,[1234] encountered them outside Wāqiṣah,[1235] two *mīls* from the people living near the mosque called the Mosque of the Mawlās. Then Ibn Maʿqil came, and Bakr told him what was happening. Ibn Maʿqil, therefore, followed the group of twelve, overtaking them in Khaffān,[1236] which is four *farsakhs*[1237] from al-Qādisiyyah, and killed them all.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Salm:[1238] Al-Furāfiṣah al-ʿIjlī had planned to make a surprise assault on al-Kūfah but refrained from

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1231. Al-ʿUdhayb was an oasis belonging to the Banū Tamīm that lay about ten miles south of al-Qādisiyyah on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 92; Morony, *Iraq*, 153; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

1232. *Sibāʿ* are predatory animals whose flesh is forbidden under Muslim dietary law. See Cook, "Early Islamic Dietary Law," 248–51. Among the places thus identified by Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 343–44, are a locality in the environs of al-Kūfah and another some five *mīls* south of al-Baṣrah on the way to Mecca. The latter is remembered as the site of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām's death in the Battle of the Camel.

1233. Asad b. Khuzaymah was a component of Khindif. For their presence in the vicinity of al-Qādisiyyah, see *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 3, 50, II, 194; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 190–92.

1234. Sharāf was a watering place between Wāqiṣah and Qarʿāʾ on the road from al-Kūfah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 331.

1235. Wāqiṣah was a fortified watering place about 125 kilometers south of al-Qādisiyyah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 353–54; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 94.

1236. Khaffān was a stage on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah about two or three *mīls* below al-Nusūkh. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 379.

1237. The *farsakh* is the equivalent of about six kilometers. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 62.

1238. Perhaps this is Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, grandson of the Umayyad governor Qutaybah b. Muslim, and governor of the Yemen for al-Hādī, Ṭabarī, III, 568; Crone, *Slaves*, 138.

doing so because of Abū Jaʿfar's presence and his continued stay there. Ibn Māʿiz al-Asadī secretly took the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm there.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd: I heard Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Bajalī and ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr, the two Sammānīs, and others report that Ghazwān belonged to the family of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Ḍirār.[1239] Then Abū Jaʿfar purchased him, and one day Ghazwān said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, behold, there are ships coming down from al-Mawṣil that contain wearers of white,[1240] heading for Ibrāhīm in al-Baṣrah." The caliph therefore [296] assigned Ghazwān an army, and he encountered the wearers of white in Bāḥamshā,[1241] which lies between Baghdad and al-Mawṣil, and killed them all. Those traveling were merchants, and with them was a group of devotees, people of pious bent, as well as others. Leading them was a man named Abū al-ʿIrfān,[1242] from the people of Shuʿayb al-Sammān, who began to say, "Woe unto you, O Ghazwān, don't you recognize me? I'm your neighbor Abū al-ʿIrfān. All I did was set out with some slaves of mine, and now I have sold them." But Ghazwān did not accept his story and killed them all. He then sent their heads to al-Kūfah, and they were set up for display all the way from the house of Isḥāq al-Azraq,[1243] which stands next to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's house, to Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. Abū Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid said, "I actually saw them raised up on a pile of earth."

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿAlī al-Qaddāḥ ("the Cup maker")—Dāwūd b. Sulaymān,[1244] Naybakht,[1245] and a group of [his] fellow-

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1239. See note 305.

1240. I.e., ʿAlid supporters, as distinguished from the ʿAbbāsid wearers of black.

1241. Bāḥamshā was a village that lay between Awānā and al-Ḥazīrah in the region north of Baghdad before Sāmarrāʾ. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 316.

1242. With some strands of classical Sufism, *ʿirfān* came to denote a kind of experiential mystical knowledge or gnosis.

1243. Abū Muḥammad Isḥāq b. Yūsuf b. Mirdās al-Azraq (d. 195/810) was a traditionist and Qurʾān reciter from al-Wāsiṭ. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 431; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 225; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 171–72; *GAS*, I, 75.

1244. Perhaps Abū Sahl al-Daqqāq Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿAskarī, *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim and a source for such *muḥaddithūn* as al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Mājah, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 161.

1245. Or Nawbakht. He is later, III, 317, identified as an astrologer at the court of al-Manṣūr and was listed (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 238–41) among the group of astronomers, astrologers, and mathematicians who were consulted about the founding

tradesmen: We were in al-Mawṣil at the time that Ḥarb al-Rāwandī[1246] was there as a frontier soldier in charge of 2,000 because of the Khārijī presence in the Jazīrah. He received a letter from Abū Jaʿfar ordering him to return. Ḥarb left, but when he was in Bāḥamshā, its people obstructed him, saying, "We will not let you through our lines to help Abū Jaʿfar against Ibrāhīm." Ḥarb replied, "Woe to you, I mean you no harm! I'm simply passing through, so give me leave." "No, by God," they cried, "you shall never pass us!" Ḥarb therefore fought them and wiped them out, carrying off 500 of their heads. These he brought to Abū Jaʿfar and told him how things had gone with them. Abū Jafar said, "This is the beginning of victory."

According to ʿUmar—Khālid b. Khidāsh b. ʿAjlān,[1247] ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ's *mawlā*: A group of our shaykhs told me that they were
[297] present when Dafīf b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of the Banū Yazīd b. Ḥātim,[1248] came to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah the night before Ibrāhīm's revolt and said, "Assign me some cavalry troops and I shall bring you Ibrāhīm or his head." Sufyān replied, "Have you no work to do? Go do your job!" Dafīf left that very night and caught up with Yazīd b. Ḥātim when he was in Egypt.

According to ʿUmar—Khālid b. Khidāsh: I heard a number of the Azdīs speaking about Jābir b. Ḥammād, the head of Sufyān's police force,[1249] who the day before Ibrāhīm's revolt said to Sufyān, "I was passing the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur, and

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of Baghdad. Nawbakht is a Persian patronymic meaning "new fortune" that was carried by a number of Baghdādī scholars, including several important Shīʿī theologians. *EI*[1], s.v. (L. Massignon); Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1071.

1246. Ḥarb b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rāwandī, who headed al-Manṣūr's *shurṭah*, first in Baghdad and then here in al-Mawṣil. The Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad was named after him, and the ruins of a fortress that he built in al-Mawṣil were visible in the seventh/thirteenth century. The information that follows mention of his name is repeated, and Ḥarb's death at the hands of a Turkish force is related, among the first events of the year 147/764–65. Ṭabarī, III, 328–29; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 172–73; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122–35; Lassner, *Topography*, 158–59, 176–77.

1247. Abū al-Haytham Khālid b. Khidāsh (thus vocalized in the Leiden text) b. ʿAjlān al-Muhallabī was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* who died in 223/838. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 304–7; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 276 (where the *nasab* is given as Ibn Khaddāsh); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 488–89.

1248. Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab. See note 205. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 204, II, 594.

1249. *ʿĀqibu ṣāḥibi shuraṭi Sufyān*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaqaba*.

they yelled at me and threw stones at me." Sufyān said to him, "Couldn't you have gone some other way?"

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar:[1250] On Sunday, the day before Ibrāhīm's uprising, the deputy head of Sufyān's police force was passing the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur. He was told, "Watch out for Ibrāhīm, who is planning to revolt." "You have lied," said the deputy, and did not let himself be diverted.

According to Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī: When he was surrounded, Ibrāhīm's partisans started to shout at Sufyān. "Remember the oath of allegiance you took in the house of the Makhzūmīs."

According to Abū ʿUmar—Muḥārib b. Naṣr: After Ibrāhīm was killed, Sufyān passed by in a boat. Looking down from his stronghold, Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Is this fellow really Sufyān?" When they told him it was, the caliph said, "By God, that's astonishing! How did the son of a whore escape me?"

According to al-Ḥawḍī: Sufyān said to one of Ibrāhīm's army commanders, "Stand with me; not all your associates know what lay between Ibrāhīm and me."

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Farqad: Karzam al-Sadūsī[1251] would come to Sufyān in the morning with news of Ibrāhīm. In the evening he would return and tell Sufyān who had come to Ibrāhīm. Sufyān, however, paid no attention to him and made no attempt to follow a single one of these leads.

Another source: In those days Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah was al-Manṣūr's governor of al-Baṣrah. He was conspiring with Ibrāhīm [298]
b. ʿAbdallāh in his affair and, therefore, did not give sincere advice to his master (Abū Jaʿfar).

There is disagreement about the time of Ibrāhīm's arrival in al-Baṣrah. Some say that he reached there on the first day of the month Ramaḍān in 145. The account of those who hold that view is as follows:

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan came out in

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1250. Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥārith b. Sakhbarah al-Azdī al-Namirī was a *muḥaddith* and *ḥāfiẓ* of al-Baṣrah who died in 225/840. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 354–55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 349–50; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 101–2.

1251. Sadūs b. Shaybān was a branch of Dhuhl b. Thaʿlabah, part of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederation. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 152, 153, II, 498.

open revolt, took control of Medina and Mecca, and was greeted as caliph, he dispatched his brother Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh to al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm entered al-Baṣrah on the first day of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. He was victorious over it and put on white there, as did the people of al-Baṣrah in union with him. Those who joined his revolt were ʿĪsā b. Yūnus,[1252] Muʿādh b. Muʿādh,[1253] ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām,[1254] Isḥāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq, Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām,[1255] and a considerable number of jurisprudents and scholars. He remained in al-Baṣrah for the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. When Ibrāhīm learned of his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's slaying, he made preparations and provisions and headed out to an encounter with Abū Jaʿfar in al-Kūfah.

We have already mentioned the view of those who say that Ibrāhīm arrived in al-Baṣrah in the beginning of 143. According to this account, however, he lived in hiding there, secretly calling upon the people of al-Baṣrah to give the oath of allegiance to his brother Muḥammad.

According to Sahl b. ʿAqīl—his father: Before Ibrāhīm's uprising, Sufyān sent for two army commanders who had come to him
[299] on Abū Jaʿfar's authority as reinforcements. They were still with him, and when Ibrāhīm gave him a firm date for the rebellion, Sufyān sent for the two commanders and kept them with him that night until Ibrāhīm had staged his revolt. Ibrāhīm then surrounded Sufyān, and the two commanders and took the latter into custody.

1252. Abū ʿAmr ʿĪsā b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq b. al-Sabīʿī al-Hamdānī (d. 187/803) was a Syrian *muḥaddith* and *ḥāfiẓ* who is said to have taken part in raids against the Byzantine border and to have made the Pilgrimage every year. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 212–15; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 489–94; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 111.

1253. Abū Muthannā Muʿādh b. Muʿādh b. Naṣr b. Ḥassān b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿAnbarī (d. 196/812) was a *muḥaddith* who served as judge of al-Baṣrah for Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 131–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 175–76; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 54–57; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 258.

1254. Abū Sahl ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Kilābī was a traditionist who died in Baghdad about 186/802. He was imprisoned for a time by Hārūn al-Rashīd and then released. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 511–12; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 614; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 86–87.

1255. Abū al-Ḥasan Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām al-Qaṣṣār al-Azdī was a traditionist of al-Kūfah who died about 205/820–21. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 196–97.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father: Before Ibrāhīm's uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sent [to al-Baṣrah] three army commanders, Mujālid, Muḥammad, and Yazīd, who were brothers. They advanced with their armies and started to enter al-Baṣrah successively, one right after the other. Concerned that the forces would continue to increase there, Ibrāhīm made his uprising.

According to Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm staged his revolt on the eve of Monday, the first day of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. He reached the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur with some ten mounted men, including ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn[1256] al-Raqāshī. That same night, Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ[1257] arrived with 2,000 men as reinforcement for Sufyān. He stayed in the courtyard until the soldiers were settled. Ibrāhīm set off, first going straight for the mounts and weapons of these soldiers. The next morning he led the people in prayer in the main mosque. Meanwhile, Sufyān blockaded himself in his quarters, having a group of his [paternal] brothers there with him. So many people approached Ibrāhīm, either to gaze or to offer support, that their number grew large. When Sufyān saw that, he sought the guarantee of safety, and his request was granted. (Muṭahhar b. Juwayriyyah al-Sadūsī went in secret to Ibrāhīm and obtained the guarantee of safety for Sufyān.) Sufyān then opened the door so that Ibrāhīm could enter the house. As he entered, a reed mat was thrown down for him at the entrance to the portico and a gusting wind turned it upside down. The people took it as an evil omen, but Ibrāhīm said, "We do not take auguries" and proceeded to sit on it wrong-side-up (although repugnance could be seen on his [300] face.) When Ibrāhīm entered the house, he let them go their ways—as the source recounts—except Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah. The latter he confined in the fort and bound with a light chain. According to the sources that describe his action, Ibrāhīm wanted Abū Jaʿfar to think that Sufyān was imprisoned near him. Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, who were then in

1256. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

1257. A *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym who is earlier mentioned, III, 122, as fighting under the command of Khāzim b. Khuzaymah in the battle against the Khārijī al-Mulabbid.

al-Baṣrah, heard about Ibrāhīm's reaching the governor's quarters and imprisoning Sufyān. It is said that they advanced toward Ibrāhīm with 600 foot soldiers, cavalry, and archers. Against them Ibrāhīm sent al-Maḍāʾ b. al-Qāsim al-Jazarī with eighteen horsemen and thirty foot soldiers, and al-Maḍāʾ routed them. One of al-Maḍāʾ's associates caught up with Muḥammad and stabbed him in the thigh. A herald of Ibrāhīm's cried out, "Anyone retreating will not be pursued." Muḥammad then went himself to stand at Zaynab bt. Sulaymān's gate. There he called out that the family of Sulaymān had a guarantee of safety and that no one should trouble them.

According to Bakr b. Kathīr: When Ibrāhīm was victorious against Jaʿfar and Muḥammad and took control of al-Baṣrah, he found 600,000 [dirhams] in the treasury, which he ordered taken into safekeeping. (Another source states that he found 2 million dirhams in the treasury.) His position was strengthened by that, and he assigned fifty dirhams to every man. It is said that when Ibrāhīm had conquered al-Baṣrah, he sent a man named al-Ḥusayn b. Thawlāʾ to al-Ahwāz so that he could call upon its people to give the oath of allegiance. Al-Ḥusayn, therefore, went and received their oaths of allegiance and then returned to Ibrāhīm. At this point, Ibrāhīm sent al-Mughīrah off with fifty men, while another fully 200 joined him when he reached al-Ahwāz. In those days Abū Jaʿfar's appointed governor in al-Ahwāz was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn. When Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn learned that al-Mughīrah was drawing near him, he went forth against him with those who were with him, a force said to number 4,000. The opposing sides met each other about a *mīl* from the citadel of al-
[301] Ahwāz in a place called Dasht Arbuk. Ibn Ḥuṣayn and his associates were put to flight, and al-Mughīrah entered al-Ahwāz.

It has been said that al-Mughīrah went to al-Ahwāz after Ibrāhīm left al-Baṣrah for Bākhamrā.[1258]

According to Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Murabbaʿī: After Ibrāhīm had gained control of al-Baṣrah, he intended to head for the district of al-Kūfah. He therefore appointed Numaylah b. Murrah al-ʿAbshamī as his deputy in al-Baṣrah and ordered him to send al-

1258. Bākhamrā was a village about seventeen *farsakhs* (about 100 kilometers) from al-Kūfah on the road to Wāsiṭ. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 316.

Mughīrah b. al-Faz', one of the Banū Bahdalah b. 'Awf,[1259] to al-Ahwāz, which at that time was governed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-'Abdī. To Fārs, Ibrāhīm sent 'Amr b. Shaddād as governor. Ibn Shaddād went by Rām Hurmuz,[1260] where Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl[1261] was, and asked him to follow him. Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl went with him as far as Fārs, where Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh was Abū Ja'far's appointed governor. With Ismā'īl was his brother, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī. When they heard that 'Amr b. Shaddād and Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl were approaching, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad were in Iṣṭakhr.[1262] Immediately they hurried off to Dārābjird[1263] and fortified themselves there. Fārs thus fell to the control of 'Amr b. Shaddād and Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl, thereby placing al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, and Fārs [all three] under Ibrāhīm's jurisdiction.

According to 'Umar—Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh (or Shaḥḥ):[1264] When Ibrāhīm made his uprising in al-Baṣrah, al-Ḥakam b. Abī Ghaylān al-Yashkurī approached with 17,000 men to enter Wāsiṭ, where Hārūn b. Ḥumayd al-Iyādī was Abū Ja'far's appointed [governor]. Hārūn, therefore, took refuge in an oven in the fortress until he was brought out from it. The people of Wāsiṭ went to Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah[1265] and said to him: "You are more [302]

1259. Bahdalah b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd was a clan of the Banū Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 77, II, 220; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 218–19, 466.

1260. Rām Hurmuz, or Rāmahurmuz, was a town in Khūzistān that lay about eighty-five kilometers east of al-Ahwāz. *EI*[1], s.v. Rām Hormuz (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 243, 247; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 17.

1261. Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. His ancestor, al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was the Prophet's uncle. Ya'qūb's execution for heresy in 169/785 was among the first acts of Mūsā al-Hādī's caliphate. Ṭabarī, III, 549–50; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 71.

1262. Iṣṭakhr, which was situated near the ruins of Persepolis, was the principal city of the province of Fārs. Persepolis, in fact, provided building material for the construction of Iṣṭakhr. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and G. C. Miles); Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 148, 151–52; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 51; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 211–12.

1263. Dārābjird was a town in the province of Fārs that lay about 280 kilometers east of Shīrāz. *EI*[2], s.v. (D. N. Wilber); Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 152–53, 161–62; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 48; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 419.

1264. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh was a traditionist and poet of Wāsiṭ. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1099.

1265. His great-great-grandfather Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām (d. 43/663) was among the *tābi'ūn*, the Successors

entitled than this Hujaymī [i.e., Hārūn].[1266] Ḥafṣ, therefore, took control of the city and al-Yashkurī left. Ḥafṣ, however, put Abū Muqrin al-Hujaymī in charge of his police forces.

According to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAmr al-Fuqaymī, al-Faḍl b. ʿAmr al-Fuqaymī's nephew: Ibrāhīm was at odds with Hārūn b. Saʿd[1267] and would not speak to him. When Ibrāhīm made his uprising, Hārūn b. Saʿd turned up and went to see Salm b. Abī Wāṣil, saying to him: "Tell me about your master. Has he no need of us in this affair of his?" "Yes, God's life!" Salm replied. Then he stood up, went into Ibrāhīm, and said, "Here is Hārūn b. Saʿd who has come to you." Ibrāhīm replied, "I have no need of him." "Don't shun Hārūn; restrain yourself," responded Salm, and he kept at Ibrāhīm until he agreed to receive Hārūn, giving him permission to enter. Hārūn went into Ibrāhīm and said to him, "Ask me to do what is of greatest importance to you." Ibrāhīm therefore asked him to take charge of Wāsiṭ and installed him as governor there.

According to Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh—Abū al-Ṣaʿdī: The Kūfan Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī came to us, having been sent by Ibrāhīm from al-Baṣrah. He was an important *shaykh*, but the most famous Baṣran who was in his entourage was al-Ṭuhawī. The man from Wāsiṭ among those accompanying him whose bravery most resembled that of al-Ṭuhawī was the valiant ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Kalbī. Among those who marched with Ibrāhīm [from the start] or came out to join him [later] was ʿAbdawayh[1268] Kardām of Khurāsān, while Ṣadaqah b. Bakkār was a member of their cavalry. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr[1269] was wont to say, "With

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to Muḥammad's Companions, and among those commissioned by the caliph ʿUthmān to collect and transcribe the official text (*muṣḥaf*) of the Qurʾān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 130; *Ziriklī*, *Aʿlām*, III, 303.

1266. Al-Hujaym b. ʿAlī b. Sūd and Iyād b. Sūd are clans of the Banū al-Azd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 206, II, 360. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, X, 603.

1267. Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī. See note 1032.

1268. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, with this vocalization or ʿAbdūyah.

1269. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr b. Ḥaṣan b. ʿAmr al-Kalbī was an Umayyad general who plotted the assassination of the caliph Walīd b. Yazīd in 126/744. Subsequently, he governed Iraq for a very brief period and eventually moved on to Sind as governor there. After Abū al-ʿAbbās became caliph, Mūsā b. Kaʿb was sent

Ṣadaqah b. Bakkār on my side, I don't care whom I encounter!" According to some sources, Abū Ja'far dispatched 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl al-Muslī[1270] with 5,000 troops to Wāsiṭ to wage war against Hārūn b. Sa'd—other sources say 20,000—and there were various battles between them.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Ibn Abī al-Karrām:[1271] I reached Abū Ja'far with the head of Muḥammad while 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl was in Wāsiṭ besieging Hārūn b. Sa'd. The war between the people of Wāsiṭ and the associates of Abū Ja'far occurred before Ibrāhīm left al-Baṣrah. [303]

According to Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh: 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl's camp lay behind al-Nīl. The first battle occurred between Hārūn and 'Āmir, and [in it] a slave water-bearer struck the latter, wounded him, and brought him to the ground without recognizing him. Abū Ja'far sent him a small bag contining gum arabic and said, "Treat your wound with it." The opposing forces then met each other in battle more than once, and many from al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ were killed. Hārūn kept forbidding their fighting, saying, "If our master were to meet their master, the situation would become clear to us, so hold yourselves back." But they would not do so. After Ibrāhīm left for Bākhamrā, however, the two sides, i.e., the troops of Wāsiṭ and those of 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl, quit battling each other and agreed to cease warring until both armies could meet. Then they would follow the victor. When Ibrāhīm was killed, 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl wanted to enter Wāsiṭ but its people kept him from doing so.

According to Sulaymān: When the news that Ibrāhīm had been killed reached Wāsiṭ, Hārūn b. Sa'd fled, and the people of Wāsiṭ made peace with 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl on condition that he extend a guarantee of safety. Many of them, however, had no faith in any guarantee of his, so they left the city. 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl entered Wāsiṭ and stayed there without disturbing anyone.

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against him, and Manṣūr died about 134/751–52. (According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 444, Mūsā b. Ka'b was sent by Abū Muslim.) Ziriklī, *A'lām*, VII, 298; Crone, *Slaves*, 158–59; Omar, *'Abbāsid Caliphate*, 161–63.

1270. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, gives a manuscript reference from Balādhurī for this as "al-Shalīmī," but the printed text, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 100, does not reflect this.

1271. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām al-Ja'farī.

According to Sulaymān: It has been said that ʿĀmir made a peace agreement with the people of Wāsiṭ that he would not kill anyone in Wāsiṭ, but they did [in fact] kill anyone found leaving the city. After Ibrāhīm's slaying, when peace was declared between ʿĀmir and the people of Wāsiṭ, Hārūn b. Saʿd fled to al-
[304] Baṣrah but died before he got there, or so it is said.

It is said that Hārūn b. Saʿd went into hiding and stayed there until Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became governor of al-Kūfah. Offering Hārūn the guarantee of safety, Muḥammad enticed him into the open. He even ordered Hārūn to assign positions to 200 of the members of his household. Hārūn was about to do so and rode off to present himself to Muḥammad when one of his cousins met him and said to him, "You've been deceived." Hārūn, therefore, turned back and disappeared from sight until he died. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān tore down his house.

According to ʿUmar: After making his uprising there, Ibrāhīm remained in al-Basṛah, assigning governors to the various administrative districts and dispatching troops to the regions, until news of his brother Muḥammad's death reached him.

According to Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm assigned various administrative positions in al-Baṣrah. Three days before the feast of the Fiṭr, news of his brother Muḥammad's death reached him. Although he led the people in observance of the feast, they recognized the deep sadness in him. He told the people about Muḥammad's slaying, and with burning hearts[1272] they redoubled their efforts against Abū Jaʿfar. Upon awaking the next morning, Ibrāhīm gathered his army and appointed Numaylah as his deputy over al-Baṣrah, leaving his son Ḥasan[1273] behind with him.

According to Saʿīd b. Huraym—his father—ʿAlī b. Dāwūd:[1274] When he preached to us on the day of the Fiṭr, I saw death on

1272. *Fa-izdādū fī qitāli Abī Jaʿfarin baṣīratan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṣura*.

1273. Al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥasan. He escaped from the caliph al-Mahdī's confinement but was eventually recaptured through the intervention of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd. During al-Mahdī's Pilgrimage in 160/777, al-Ḥasan was restored to caliphal favor. Ṭabarī, III, 461–64, 482.

1274. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān was the brother of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, a vizier to al-Mahdī. Although both brothers were imprisoned by al-Manṣūr for the duration of his life because of their support for the rebellions of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, they were released when al-Mahdī became caliph. Tabarī, III, 507; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 103–11; *EI*², s.v. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb (S. Moscati).

Ibrāhīm's face. Returning to my family I said, "That man, by God, is going to be killed."

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father: When Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān, left al-Baṣrah, they sent Maʿrūf to Abū Jaʿfar to give him the news about Ibrāhīm. He said, "I gave the caliph information from Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, and he said, 'By God, I don't know what I should do. By God, there are only 2,000 men in my force [here]. I have scattered my army: With al-Mahdī in al-Rayy are 30,000 and with Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in Ifrīqiyah[1275] are 40,000, while the rest are with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. But, by God, if I am to come safely out of this, my force [305] [here] should not be 30,000 short.' "

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid: There were not many in Abū Jaʿfar's army camp, almost no one[1276] but some blacks and a few other people. The caliph regularly ordered firewood to be stacked and kindled at night. Anyone seeing the blaze would figure that there were a lot of people there. But, in fact, it was only a burning fire with no one near it.

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father: When the news reached Abū Jaʿfar, he wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was then in Medina: "When you read this letter from me, stop whatever you are doing and come right here." ʿĪsā wasted no time getting there, and the caliph dispatched him against the people. He also wrote to Salm b. Qutaybah,[1277] who came to him from al-Rayy. The caliph then attached him to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Yūsuf b. Qutaybah b. Muslim[1278]—his brother, Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim: When I entered the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, he said to me, "Be on your way; the sons of ʿAbdallāh have now come out in open revolt. Go after Ibrāhīm; his band should certainly not scare you! By God, those two camels of the Banū Hāshim will be slaughtered together. Stretch forth your hand and have faith in what I have told you.

1275. That part of the North African littoral that comprises essentially modern Tunisia. *EI*², s.v. (M. Talbi).

1276. *Kathīru aḥadin mā hum illā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *aḥad*.

1277. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī. See note 797.

1278. Yūsuf was another son of Qutaybah b. Muslim, a noted governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. *EI*², s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim (C. E. Bosworth).

You will remember what I have said to you." By God, what should happen but that Ibrāhīm was killed, and I began to remember what he had said, and I was astonished!

According to Saʿīd b. Salm:[1279] The caliph put Salm b. Qutaybah in charge of the left wing of the people and detailed to him Bashshār b. Salm al-ʿUqaylī, Abū Yaḥyā b. Khuraym, and Abū Hurāsah Sinān b. Mukhayyas al-Qushayrī. Salm wrote to al-Baṣrah and the Bāhilah[1280] joined him, both Arabs and *mawlās*. Al-Manṣūr wrote to al-Mahdī, who was then in al-Rayy, commanding him to dispatch Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to al-Ahwāz. It is said that al-Mahdī sent Khāzim at the head of 4,000 troops.
[306] Khāzim marched to al-Ahwāz and waged war there against al-Mughīrah. The latter then left for al-Baṣrah, while Khāzim entered al-Ahwāz and allowed the troops to plunder for three days.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās b. Mūsā[1281] and ʿUmar b. Māhān[1282]—al-Sindī: In the days of war against Muḥammad I was an attendant who would stand beside al-Manṣūr's head with the flyswatter. As the situation with Ibrāhīm grew ever more dense and intractable, I saw him stay on the prayer mat some fifty nights, sleeping there and sitting there. He was wearing a colored *jubbah*, of which the collar and the part under his beard had become soiled. Yet he did not change the *jubbah* and did not leave the prayer mat until God achieved victory over Ibrāhīm. When he appeared before people, however, he covered the *jubbah* with a black garment and sat on his cushion. But when he was in private,[1283] he returned to his former aspect.

During these days Raysānah came to him. This was after two Medinan women had been given to the caliph as brides. One of them was Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbay-

1279. Saʿīd b. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī (d. 217/832) served Hārūn al-Rashīd as governor of Armenia, al-Mawṣil, al-Sind, Ṭabaristān, Sijistān, and al-Jazīrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 137–38; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 225.

1280. See W. Caskel, *EI*², s.v. Bāhila.

1281. Al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās b. Mūsā is later mentioned as governor of al-Kūfah during the reign of al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 857; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 43.

1282. The Leiden edition index suggests that this may be ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān, who is mentioned on III, 227.

1283. *Fa-idhā baṭana ʿāda hayʾatihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṭana*

dallāh,[1284] while the other was Amah al-Karīm bt. ʿAbdallāh,[1285] a descendant of Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-ʿĪṣ.[1286] Since the caliph had not even taken a look at them, Raysānah said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the souls of these two women are sadly disturbed[1287] and prey to bad thoughts because of the cruelty you show toward them." He chased her away, saying, "These days are no days for women. I will have nothing to do with them until I know whether Ibrāhīm's head is mine or my head belongs to Ibrāhīm."

It is said that after leaving al-Baṣrah, Muḥammad and Jaʿfar, the sons of Sulaymān, wrote to inform Abū Jaʿfar [of the state of affairs], using a scrap of sacking because they could get nothing other than that to write on. When the letter reached the caliph's headquarters and he spied the scrap of sacking in the messenger's hand, he exclaimed, "By God, the people of al-Baṣrah have renounced their allegiance together with Ibrāhīm!" Then he read the letter and summoned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khatlī[1288] and Abū [307]
Yaʿqūb, a relative by marriage of Mālik b. al-Haytham. He sent them off to Muḥammad and Jaʿfar at the head of a numerous cavalry unit. The caliph ordered ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Yaʿqūb to detain Muḥammad and Jaʿfar as soon as they met up with them, and to camp with them, to make them listen, and to bring them into line. He also wrote to Muḥammad and Jaʿfar, calling them weak and impotent and rebuking them for [allowing] Ibrāhīm's unbridled urge to revolt against a stronghold where they were and his successfully concealing his plans from them until he made his uprising. He wrote at the end of the letter:

1284. A descendant of one of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is later mentioned as the mother of Abū Jaʿfar's sons Sulaymān, ʿĪsā, and Yaʿqūb. Ṭabarī, III, 442.

1285. Ṭabarī *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, based on al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, where her father's name is given as "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh."

1286. Khālid b. Asīd b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams was a Meccan butcher who became a Muslim in the year that city was conquered. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 246; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 8, II, 341; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 53; *EI*², Suppl., s.v. Djazzār (M. A. J. Beg).

1287. *Qad khabuthat anfusuhumā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khabutha*.

1288. The Leiden text's vocalization. Khuttal, or Khuttalān, is a region of central Asia that lies just north of the Oxus river. *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān (C. E. Bosworth); Le Strange, *Lands*, 235–39; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 165; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 346–47.

Give to the Banū Hāshim this message conveyed from me,
Be watchful; this is the action of sleepers
Wolves attack the one who has no dogs
but are wary of the fold of the one striking terror,[1289] the protector.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Jaʿfar b. Rabīʿah al-ʿĀmirī—al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah b. Muslim:[1290] I entered the presence of al-Manṣūr during the days of the war with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. He had already heard about the defection of al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, Wāsiṭ, al-Madāʾin, and the Sawād, and he was scratching at the ground with his staff and quoting the following:

I've set myself up as a target for spears.
Truly the leader always behaves [thus] in such matters.

I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God uphold your might and aid you against your enemy! You are as al-Aʿshā[1291] said:

If between them conflict is ignited
and grows hot for them after it had been cooled.
I shall be found enduring its heat,
yea, though wars come round ever and again.

He said, "O Ḥajjāj, truly Ibrāhīm has now recognized how ragged my flank is, how hard my side and how rough my horn.[1292] He's
[308] been emboldened to head for me by way of al-Baṣrah by the adhesion of these districts that dominate the Commander of the Faithful's forces. Moreover, the people of the Sawād side with him

1289. *Mustanfir*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nafara* (which explains that it is an epithet of lions); Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2824.

1290. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah, son of Qutaybah b. Muslim, a noted governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His only appearance in Ṭabarī, other than as a *rāwī*, is at an audience with the mother of the defeated ruler of Farghānah. Ṭabarī, II, 1697.

1291. Abū Baṣīr Maymūn b. Qays b. Jandal, a prominent *jāhilī* poet of Qays b. Thaʿlabah of the Bakr b. Wāʾil who died about 7/629. *GAS*, II, 130–32; *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 341.

1292. For an assessment of the caliph's strategic vulnerability, see Lassner, "Provincial Administration: *Amṣār* of Iraq," 25–29.

in conflict and disobedience. I, however, have aimed against each district its stone and against each region its arrow by sending against them the gallant, the bold, the fortunate, the victorious ʿĪsā b. Mūsā at the head of a great mass of men and equipment. I call upon God to help him, and I rely on Him to make him capable of that affair, for there is no might and no power to the Commander of the Faithful except through God."

According to Jaʿfar b. Rabīʿah—al-Ḥajjāj b. Quṭaybah: On that day I entered the presence of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr with a word of greeting. I judged him incapable of returning the salutation, however, because of the uninterrupted succession of rips and rents in the fabric of his regime, the armies surrounding him, as well as the 100,000 swords lying in wait for him in al-Kūfah and facing his own army, all waiting for him in one ferocious horde, ready to pounce. I found him to be like a solitary hawk, intensely concentrated, a man who has risen to meet the vicissitudes that have befallen him, facing up to them and contending with them. He tackled them, his spirit never letting him buckle under. Truly he was like what the early poet said:[1293]

The soul of ʿIṣām [is what] made ʿIṣām a sovereign.
It taught him to wheel and attack,
And made him a gallant ruler,
so that he surpassed and excelled all peoples.[1294]

According to Abū ʿUbaydah:[1295] He was with Yūnus al-Jarmī at the time when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had sent his brother to war against Abū Jaʿfar. Yūnus said, "This fellow arrived intending to eliminate a ruler, but the daughter of ʿUmar b. Salamah[1296] distracted him from what he was trying to do." In those days the

1293. The editor of the Leiden text identifies the poet as Nābighah [al-Dhubyānī], a renowned *jāhilī* poet who is thought to have died in the early years of the seventh century. *GAS*, II, 110–13; *EI²*, s.v. (A. Arazi).

1294. *Ḥattā ʿalā wa-jāwaza al-aqwānā*. This final line is supplied in Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 641.

1295. Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/824–25) was a noted historian and philologist from al-Baṣrah who wrote, among many other works, one of the first treatises of Qur'ānic *tafsīr*. *EI²*, s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb); *GAS*, I, 48.

1296. ʿUmar b. Salamah al-Hujaymī. See p. 260.

woman from the [Banū] Taym[1297] was presented to Abū Jaʿfar, but he kept her at a distance,[1298] not even looking at her until the [309] matter of Ibrāhīm was settled. Ibrāhīm, however, after his arrival in al-Baṣrah, married Bamakah bt. ʿUmar b. Salamah.[1299] She would come to him with her cosmetics and many-hued garments.

According to Bishr b. Salm: When Ibrāhīm intended to head toward Abū Jaʿfar, Numaylah, al-Ṭuhawī, and a group of his Baṣran army commanders came to see him and said, "May God prosper you! You have gained control of al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, and Wāsiṭ, so stay where you are and send the armies. If one of your armies is put to flight, you can send another army as reinforcment. Similarly, if one of your army commanders is routed, you can reinforce him with another army commander. Your position is feared and your enemy is on guard against you. The monies have been raised and your footing is firm. All we need now is your [good] judgment." But the Kūfans said, "May God prosper you! In al-Kūfah there are men who would die in your place, were they to see you. But if they do not see you, various reasons will lead them to stay where they are so that they don't come to you." These men kept on at Ibrāhīm until he left.

According to [i.e. on the authority of] ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar al-Madīnī:[1300] We went forth with Ibrāhīm to Bākhamrā. When we had made camp, he came to us one night and said, "Come out with us for a stroll around our camp." On his stroll, Ibrāhīm listened to the sounds of mandolins (*ṭanābīr*) and singing and then went back inside. He came to me on yet another night and said, "Come out with us." I joined him as he listened to similar sounds and then went back in, saying, "I don't much crave the support of an army with goings-on like these in it!"

1297. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI; the Leiden text's original vocalization was *al-Yatīmah*, a word meaning "orphan." She is not mentioned in the list of women who bore children to Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 442–43.

1298. *Tarakahu bi-mazjari al-kalb*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *zajara* (which explains this as the distance from which one would rebuke a dog).

1299. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI; the Leiden text's original vocalization was Bahkanah.

1300. Abū ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Najīḥ al-Saʿdī was a traditionist of al-Baṣrah who died in 178/794. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 104–5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 152–53.

According to [i.e. on the authority of] ʿAffān b. Muslim al-Ṣaffār:[1301] When Ibrāhīm was encamped, there were [some prominent] men from our neighborhood who were in his pay. Having gone to his camp, I estimated that there were fewer than 10,000 men with him.

According to Dāwūd b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān: On Ibrāhīm's stipends register were counted 100,000 men from al-Baṣrah.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿĪsā b. Mūsā with 15,000, and he put Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah in charge [310] of a 3,000-man vanguard. It is said that when ʿĪsā b. Mūsā started out toward Ibrāhīm, Abū Jaʿfar traveled as far as Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn[1302] with him. Then Abū Jaʿfar returned, and Ibrāhīm headed from his encampment by the wine house in Khuraybat al-Baṣrah[1303] toward al-Kūfah.

According to one of the Banū Taymallāh[1304]—Aws b. Muhalhil al-Quṭaʿī:[1305] Ibrāhīm passed by us on the route he was taking, while we were living in the domed houses called the Domes of Aws (Qibāb Aws).[1306] I went out to meet him in the company of my father and uncle, and eventually we reached him. He was on

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1301. Abū ʿUthmān ʿAffān b. Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ṣaffār (d. 220/835) was a traditionist born in al-Baṣrah but who lived his adult life in Baghdad. He was among those summoned by the governor of Baghdad, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, to acknowledge the caliph al-Maʾmūn's doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān. When threatened with the loss of sustenance (*rizq*) in the amount of 500 dirhams per month, which he received from the caliph, ʿAffān recited, "In the heaven is your sustenance and what you are promised" (Qurʾān, 51: 22). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XII, 269–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 205–9; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 242–55; *GAS*, I, 102.

1302. According to Ṭabarī, II, 748, this was a site on the banks of the Euphrates that was so named ("Canal of the Baṣrans") because Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, an early governor of al-Baṣrah, had a canal dug there.

1303. Al-Khuraybah ("the little ruin") was the Arab name for the first encampment at the site of the former Persian settlement, which was to become al-Baṣrah. *EI*², s.v. al-Baṣrah (Ch. Pellat); Yāqūt *Buldān*, II, 363; Morony, *Iraq*, 246–47; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 3.

1304. Taymallāh b. Thaʿlabah was a clan of the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil. *EI*¹, s.v. (G. Levi Della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 150, II, 543.

1305. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 132, II, 220, 473, citing Quṭayʿah b. ʿAbs as a descendant of Baghīḍ b. Rayth.

1306. Aws b. Ḥārithah was one of the two principal tribes in Medina who formed Muḥammad's Anṣār after the *hijrah*. *EI*², s.v. al-Aws (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 177, II, 214; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 331–32.

a packhorse of his, looking around for somewhere to encamp in that region. I heard him quote verses of al-Quṭāmī:[1307]

These are matters that, if the even-tempered man deals with
 them,
 then he forbids and incites fear as he can.
Disobeying one concerned about you could
 enhance your giving ear to him another time.
The best thing is what you go to meet,
 not what you [merely] follow, coming after.
But when the skin is rent,
 rotten and despoiled, it defeats the most skillful.

I said to the one with me that I was hearing the words of a man who was regretting his journey.

Then Ibrāhīm continued on and when he reached Karkhthā,[1308] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid said to him (according to what is reported on the authority of Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād b. Labīd),[1309] "This is the territory of my people, and I know it well. Do not pursue ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and these armies that have been dispatched against you. I will go with you, however, if you will leave me [to choose] a road where Abū Jaʿfar will not know where you are until you are suddenly upon him in al-Kūfah." But Ibrāhīm refused him. Then ʿAbd al-Wāḥid said, "We are the men
[311] of Rabīʿah, masters of the night raid. So let me make a night raid against the associates of ʿĪsā." "Truly I detest raiding at night," Ibrāhīm responded.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Saʿīd b. Huraym—his father: I said to Ibrāhīm, "You will never be victorious against this man [Abū Jaʿfar] until you take al-Kūfah. If, despite his being well-fortified there, al-Kūfah falls to you, he can offer no

1307. Abū Saʿīd ʿUmayr b. Shuyaym b. ʿAmr was a (probably) Christian bedouin poet who died in 101/719–20. *EI*², s.v. (H. H. Bräu and Ch. Pellat); *GAS*, II, 338–39.

1308. Neither this place name nor the variants suggested by the Leiden text's note, i.e., "Kūkhthā" and "Karkhyā," are mentioned in the standard geographical sources. Karkh Maysān, a place in the Sawād north of al-Baṣrah, is a possible identification. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 449; Morony, *Iraq*, 159.

1309. See note 1207.

resistance[1310] once it is gone. I still have a few close relatives there; let me travel to al-Kūfah in disguise so that I can secretly summon people to your cause. Then I will come out into the open, because if they hear someone proclaim your cause [publicly], they will respond to him. If the faint-hearted Abū Jaʿfar hears [about it] throughout al-Kūfah, nothing will turn back his face this side of Ḥulwān."

Ibrāhīm turned to Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl[1311] and asked, "What do you think, Abū Muḥammad?" "Were we to put our trust in the scenario you've described," said Bashīr, "that would be a sound idea. But we don't believe that a [significant] group of Kūfans will respond to your call. Abū Jaʿfar will send cavalry against them that will trample underfoot the innocent and the corrupt, the young and the old. You will have exposed yourself to the sin of that without even achieving what you hoped." I said to Bashīr, "Whenever you've gone out to fight Abū Jaʿfar and his associates, were you afraid of killing the weak and the small, and women as well as men? Didn't the Messenger of God send out raiding parties at night and himself engage in fighting, thereby doing what you find repugnant?" "But those were all idolaters," retorted Bashīr, "whereas these are people of our religious community (*millah*), our [prophetic] call (*daʿwah*), and our prayer orientation (*qiblah*). Their case is not the same as those others." Ibrāhīm therefore followed his opinion, refusing permission to Huraym, and went on to encamp in Bākhamrā.

According to Khālid b. Asīd al-Bāhilī: After Ibrāhīm camped in Bākhamrā, Salm b. Qutaybah sent Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm to him to say, "You have now gone into the desert, and someone like you is further from death there. Dig a trench for yourself so that there is only one access to you. If you won't do that, [then know that] Abū Jaʿfar has depleted his army, so hurry off to him at the [312]
head of a contingent[1312] and seize him from the rear."

Ibrāhīm summoned his associates and suggested that to them. They said, "Why should we dig a trench for ourselves when we

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1310. *Lam taqum lahu baʿdahā qāʾimatun.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāma*; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 431.

1311. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI. See note 649.

1312. *Fa-takhaffaf fī ṭāʾifatin.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaffa*.

are victorious against them? No, by God, we shall not do that!" "Then we should go after him," said Ibrāhīm. "Why," they answered, "when he is in our hands whenever we want him?" Ibrāhīm said to Ḥakīm, "Now you have heard, so go back [conscious of] having done your duty."

According to Ibrāhīm b. Salm—his brother—his father: When we met for battle, our forces were lined up in one rank facing them. Leaving the battle line, I said to Ibrāhīm: "If one section of the line is routed, the rest will collapse, for they are not [properly] deployed. Organize the men in squadrons; then if one squadron is put to flight, another will stand firm." But they cried out, "Only the Islamic way of fighting,"[1313] thereby alluding to God's saying, "[they] fight in His way in a line."[1314]

According to Yaḥyā b. Shukr, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's *mawlā*: Al-Maḍā' said, "When we settled in Bākhamrā, I went to Ibrāhīm and said to him, "In the morning these people will greet you with enough weapons and mounts to block your view of the setting sun. Meanwhile, you have only naked [i.e., poorly equipped] Baṣran forces with you. Let me make a night raid against him so that I can really cut his forces to pieces." "How I detest killing," said Ibrāhīm. I exclaimed, "You want the sovereignty but you detest the killing!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Ibrāhīm heard about his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's slaying, he set out against Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr in al-Kūfah. Abū Jaʿfar wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, informing him of that and ordering him to report in person to him. Abū Jaʿfar's messenger and letter reached ʿĪsā after he had entered the state of consecration for the Lesser Pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*).[1315] He abandoned the state of purification, however, and presented himself to Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph then dispatched ʿĪsā with commanders, troops, and weapons
[313] against Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm advanced with

1313. In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 568, this is given as "We should form a line only as the people of Islam did."

1314. Qur'ān 61:4. The verse actually begins "God loves those who. . . ."

1315. The *ʿumrah* is a series of prescribed ritual actions that can be performed within the confines of Mecca at any time during the Muslim liturgical year. According to R. Paret (*EI*¹, s.v. ʿUmrah), entering the necessary state of ritual purity is usually accomplished at Jiʿrānah, Ḥudaybiyah, or Tanʿīm.

a large force of troops of unknown origin, larger than ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's force. They met in Bākhamrā, which is situated about sixteen *farsakhs* from al-Kūfah, and there fought a hard-pitched battle. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, head of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard, was put to flight, as were the people with him. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā stood in their way, beseeching them in the name of God to maintain obedience, but they paid no attention to him and ran off in flight. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah came running by, and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said to him, "O Ḥumayd, return to God, to God and obedience!" Ḥumayd retorted, "There is no obedience in defeat" and took off.[1316] All the troops ran away, leaving ʿĪsā b. Mūsā quite alone before Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's army. But ʿĪsā b. Mūsā held his position without moving, although he commanded only 100 men drawn from his personal guard and retinue. Someone said to him, "May God prosper the Amīr! Would that you abandoned this position until the troops come back to you. Then you could return to the charge with them." ʿĪsā replied, "Never shall I leave this position of mine until I am killed or God is victorious by my hand. It will not be said, 'He was routed.' "

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī[1317]—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[1318]—his father—ʿĪsā b. Mūsā: As he was about to dispatch me against Ibrāhīm, the Commander of the Faithful said, "These wicked men, i.e., the astrologers, assert that you will meet the man and that you will have an inconclusive round when you encounter him. Then your associates will return to you, and outcome will be in your favor." By God, it happened exactly as he said. What should occur but that we met in battle and we were routed. I found myself with not more than three or four [314]
supporters. One of my *mawlās* came up to me, grabbing the bridle of my mount, and said, "May I be made your ransom, why

1316. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, for this addition.

1317. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 229/843–44) was a son of the cousin to al-Manṣūr who served as governor of Medina 146–50/763–67. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm himself was appointed governor of the Yemen by the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, but was later dismissed and eventually imprisoned by the caliph al-Wāthiq. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 325.

1318. Abū al-Ḥasan Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbadallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 203/818–19) was a cousin of Abū Jaʿfar who served as his governor of Medina 167–69/783–86. He was subsequently governor of al-Baṣrah and of Damascus for Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 420; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 40.

stay when your associates have already left?" "No, by God," I responded, "may my family never look upon my face if I flee from their enemy!" By God, I could do no more than begin to say to those whom I recognized of the people passing me in flight. "Give my family my greetings and tell them, 'I can find no ransom to redeem you more precious to me than my own life. Freely have I spent it for your sakes.' "

By God, that was the state we were in, what with the troops fleeing and paying no heed to anyone else. But the sons of Sulaymān, Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, held their ground against Ibrāhīm and attacked him from behind. Those of Ibrāhīm's partisans who were on our heels did not realize what was going on until some of them looked back at the others and saw that fighting had erupted behind them. They wheeled around to face the battle, and we followed round right in their tracks. So it went.[1319]

That day I heard ʿĪsā b. Mūsā say to my father, "By God, Abū al-ʿAbbās, were it not for Sulaymān's sons, we would have been publicly disgraced on that day. It was part of God's design that when our associates were put to flight on that day, a canal with steep embankments stood in their way, obstructing their rush. Finding no place to ford, they all had to turn back.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mihrān: People from the Ṭalḥah family living in Bākhamrā opened the irrigation dikes against Ibrāhīm and his followers, letting the water overflow so that the troops of his army became mired in the water.

Some maintain that Ibrāhīm was the one who released the water so that he would be fighting in only one direction. When they were routed, the water prevented his forces from running away.
[315] After his supporters were put to flight, Ibrāhīm stood firm, as did a group of his partisans who stood fighting in defense of him. The sources disagree about their actual numbers, some saying 500, some 400, while others say seventy.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: As ʿĪsā held his position, even though his followers had been put to flight, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh approached at the head of his army, coming ever closer. The dust cloud of his army finally

1319. *Fa-kānat iyyāhā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *iyyā*

drew close enough for ʿĪsā and those with him to see it. While they were so disposed, a horseman suddenly approached and wheeled about, heading straight for Ibrāhīm and not turning aside for anything. Lo and behold, it was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, who had altered his breastplate and wrapped his head with a yellow headcloth! So many warriors turned back to follow him that not a single person who had been routed failed to do so. Running back into battle, the troops mingled with each other and fought fiercely until several on each of the two sides were killed. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah then started to send severed heads to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. At one point, in the midst of crowd, clamor, and outcry, ʿĪsā was brought a head, and the shout went up, "It's the head of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh!" ʿĪsā b. Mūsā called for Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī and showed it to him, but he said that it was not Ibrāhīm's. The opposing forces began a battle that very day, and a stray arrow, shot by no one knows who, pierced Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's throat and felled him. Falling back from its impact, he cried, "Help me down." As they took him down from his mount he was saying, " 'God's command is a fate foreordained';[1320] we had proposed one thing, but God willed otherwise." He was set down on the ground, he being a [heavily built] man, and his associates and close companions gathered about him to guard him and fight in his defense. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah saw their gathering round, but did not know who they were. He said to his followers, "Direct your best efforts at that group until [316]
you've displaced them and can tell what they've gathered around." His forces pressed hard against them, fighting the most intense battle, until they had prised them apart from Ibrāhīm, gained free access to him, and cut off his head. They brought it to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and he showed it to Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī. This time he said, "Yes, this is his head." ʿĪsā set it on the ground and made a prostration [thanking God]. He then sent Ibrāhīm's head to Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. Ibrāhīm was killed on Monday, 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 145, being forty-eight years old at the time. The interval from the time he came out in revolt until he was killed was three months less five days.

1320. Qurʾān, 33:38.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd: He asked Abū Ṣalābah how Ibrāhīm was killed. Abū Ṣalābah responded, "I saw him come to a halt on his mount to watch ʿĪsā's partisans, who had turned around and had put his enemies to flight.[1321] ʿĪsā had retreated on his mount while his soldiers were killing them. Ibrāhīm was wearing a shirt of mail, but because the heat troubled him, he undid the fastenings of his shirt and took off the mail to leave his chest free and to uncover his throat. A stray arrow came and struck him in the throat. I saw him grab on to his horse and wheel about until the Zaydīs [i.e., the former supporters of the ʿAlid claimant in al-Kūfah, Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn] encircled him.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām—his father: When ʿĪsā's associates were put to flight, Ibrāhīm's standard [-bearers] followed in their tracks. Ibrāhīm's herald shouted out, "Do not follow anyone in flight," so the standard [-bearers] turned about to go back. Seeing this, ʿĪsā's associates thought that they were fleeing, so they turned in their tracks and the rout actually occurred.

[317] A source: When news of the mêlée involving ʿĪsā's forces reached Abū Jaʿfar, he decided to make a trip to al-Rayy.

According to Salm b. Farqad, Sulaymān b. Mujālid's chamberlain: When the opposing forces met, ʿĪsā's associates suffered such a disgraceful rout that the leading contingents actually entered al-Kūfah [i.e., they were driven back that far]. One of my Kūfan friends came to me and said, "Hey, fellow, by God, do you know that your associates have already entered al-Kūfah? Here we have Abū Hurayrah's brother at so-and-so's house, and there's another one in the house of so-and-so. Look out for yourself, your family, and your possessions." I informed Sulaymān b. Mujālid of that, and he, in turn, informed Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph said, "Be sure not to disclose any of this or pay it any attention. I am not sure that what I dread won't take me by surprise, so prepare camels and mounts at every gate of the city. If we are assailed from one direction, we shall go by another." Salm was then asked, "Where does Abū Jaʿfar intend to go, should something take him unaware?" "He has decided to go to al-Rayy," replied Salm.

1321. Literally, "given him their shoulders;" see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 625–26.

According to Salm b. Farqad: I heard that the astrologer Naybakht went to see Abū Jaʿfar and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, victory is yours. Ibrāhīm will be killed." The caliph, however, would not believe him, so Naybakht said to him, "Imprison me near you, and if the affair does not go as I've told you, then kill me." Being still in prison when news of Ibrāhīm's defeat reached him, he quoted a verse of Muʿaqqir b. Aws b. Ḥimār al-Bāriqī.[1322]

She threw down her staff, feeling herself settled there at
journey's end,
as the traveler feels cheered on [his] return.

Abū Jaʿfar allotted Naybakht 2,000 *jarīb*[1323] by the Jawbar Canal.[1324] [318]

According to Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: The morning after the night he had been brought Ibrāhīm's head, i.e., Monday night, 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, Abū Jaʿfar ordered his head to be put on display in the market.

According to a source: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought Ibrāhīm's head and it was placed before him, he wept until his tears dripped down on Ibrāhīm's cheek. Then he said, "By God, how I hate to see this! Yet you put me to the test, as I did you."

According to Ṣāliḥ, al-Manṣūr's *mawlā*: When al-Manṣūr was brought the head of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, he set it before him and held a general audience, allowing the people to enter. Upon entering, each person would offer his salutations, reach out a hand to Ibrāhīm, and make some derogatory statement about him, saying bad things about him in hopes of Abū Jaʿfar's approval. Abū Jaʿfar kept silent, his color [constantly] changing until Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī entered. The latter stopped before the caliph, made his salutations, and said, "May God enhance your reward, O Commander of the Faithful, in the matter of your

1322. Muʿaqqir b. Aws was a *jāhilī* poet and horseman who was allied to the Yamāmī tribe Numayr b. ʿĀmir. *GAS*, II, 218; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 270.

1323. The *jarīb* was equivalent to about 1,600 square meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 65.

1324. The Jawbar Canal was a branch canal of the Nahr Kūthā, one of the major waterways connecting the Tigris and Euphrates below al-Madāʾin. Le Strange, *Lands*, 68. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 177, V, 319, also mentions a Nahr Jūbarah in al-Baṣrah as a canal that flows into the Nahr al-Ijjānah.

cousin, and may He forgive him for ignoring your rightful claim." His complexion lightening, Abū Jaʿfar turned to him and said, "Abū Khālid, welcome, and make yourself at home here!" The people, realizing that this had made an impression on him, then entered and spoke as Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah had.

In this year the Turks and the Khazars revolted at Bāb al-Abwāb[1325] and killed a great many Muslims in Armenia.

In this year al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib led the people in the Pilgrimage. He was Abū Jaʿfar's
[319] appointed governor of Mecca. The governor of Medina in this year was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī, while the governor of al-Kūfah and of its administrative territory was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. The governor of al-Baṣrah was Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, while ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was charged with its judiciary. Yazīd b. Ḥātim was the governor of Egypt.

1325. Bāb al-Abwāb ("the Gate of Gates") was the Arab name for the Caspian port of Darband/Derbent. The "gates" are the openings from the Caucasus range into the eastern valleys. *EI*², s.v. (D. M. Dunlop); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 303–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180, 184; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 134.

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Index

The index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the foreword and the text (but only occasionally in the footnotes), together with technical terms.

The definite article al-, *the abbreviations* b. (ibn, *"son of") and* bt. (bint, *"daughter of"), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.*

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